

A CROSS CHANNEL COMPARISON OF THE ILLUSTRATION
OF THE CAPITAL CITIES IN AUGUSTUS CHARLES PUGIN'S
PARIS AND ITS ENVIRONS AND GUSTAVE DORÉ'S *LONDON: A
PILGRIMAGE*

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Abstract

This thesis presents a close comparison of Augustus Charles Pugin's illustrations for *Paris and its Environs* and Gustave Doré's illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage*. This comparison will reveal what is distinctive about each publication. To achieve this, the thesis begins with a consideration of how these illustrated books fit into the oeuvres of the artists and writers involved, and how the works were subsequently received. The thesis then seeks to discover the ways the books adhere to the picturesque and Realist aesthetic modes. A comparison of the representation of social and political issues within the publications reveals how the city is either celebrated or critiqued in them. This is extended by a comparison with other English views of Paris and French views of London. The thesis concludes with the suggestion that the works under consideration are akin to illustrated guidebooks and novels. The illustrations themselves form the primary evidence for this comparison, supplemented by the accompanying written texts and other sources – including contemporary periodicals and biographical material. *Paris and its Environs* is a significant work within Pugin's oeuvre and shows how he created a view of Paris which would appeal to the tastes and aspirations of his readers. With *London: A Pilgrimage*, Doré created a view of London which would entertain his English audience but challenge them at the same time.

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Augustus Charles Pugin, *Monument de la Famille Bouchée*



Gustave Doré, *The New Zealander*

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Introduction

“The two Pilgrims . . . have belted London with their footprints, and have tarried in many strange places – unfamiliar to thousands who have been life-long dwellers within the sound of Bow Bells,” announces Blanchard Jerrold in the preface to *London: A Pilgrimage*, the illustrated account of life in the city he produced with Gustave Doré from 1869 to 1872.¹ Doré’s illustrations for the book are well-remembered as one of the most significant pictorial accounts of Victorian London. Over the course of the 180 wood engravings, Doré combines the imagery of Dante’s *Inferno* (which he had previously illustrated) with the London evoked by the novels of Charles Dickens to create a view of the capital which is, at once, fictional yet also an example of Realism. Effectively, he contrasts life in the East and West of the city to highlight the class divide. In the book, there is a tension between Jerrold’s chatty and generally optimistic prose, and the pessimism expressed in many of Doré’s illustrations. By the second half of the nineteenth century, illustrated books could be printed in increasingly large numbers.² A popular success, *London: A Pilgrimage* was nonetheless received negatively by many English critics, one being the reviewer for *The Westminster Review* who claimed that in the illustrations “the commonest, the vulgarest external features are set down with an unsparing and vigorous hand.”³ Though some critics were more positive, many disliked the way Doré portrayed the capital in an unflattering light. Moreover, that a Frenchman would dare to present their city in this way. This turned out to be one of the reasons the book was so well received by the public; it showed them the city they knew in a different way. To middle class readers, the slums may as well have been another country. The book demonstrates how illustration could challenge viewers while offering them an adventure.

I shall compare *London: A Pilgrimage* to a neglected but just as valuable pictorial account of Paris, published earlier in the century in London. This is *Paris and its Environs*, a collaboration between the illustrator Augustus Charles Pugin, the steel-engraver Charles

¹ Gustave Doré and Blanchard Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage* (London: Grant & Co., 1872), p. xii. The edition I consulted is *London: A Pilgrimage* (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968).

² See George E. Mackley, *Wood Engraving* (London: The National Magazine Company, 1948), p. 15. Thomas Bewick (an illustrator who worked in the medium of wood engraving at the beginning of the nineteenth century) estimated that he could get approximately nine hundred thousand prints from one of his blocks without too much wear and tear.

³ *Westminster Review*, January – April 1873, pp. 340-41.

Heath and the writer L. T. Ventouillac.⁴ Published from 1828 to 1831, it contains 204 steel engravings, and can be seen as a significant work within the oeuvres of all its participants. The book provides a fascinating insight into the culture of the period and bears witness to the beginnings of the expansion of the illustrated book to a much wider audience than ever before.⁵ Aimed at the growing middle class audience for works of this kind, the publication satisfied their taste for art and culture. Like those of *London: A Pilgrimage*, the illustrations of *Paris and its Environs* are interesting from a documentary point of view as they represent contemporary life in Paris. While Pugin works within the confines of the picturesque, he does show signs of moving beyond these boundaries. A success with its target market and some reviewers, the book was not without its detractors. One example was the illustrator Thomas Shotter-Boys who called it “the damdest, lying, ill got up, money getting clap-trap possible.”⁶ If the work is not a true representation of Paris at the time, it flattered its audience and gave these readers what they wanted to see. Paris was a model of elegance and taste for the English, and one of the favoured destinations of the grand tour. The book is an interesting example of the way some of the English saw the capital in the early part of the nineteenth century.

My thesis is based on a close comparison of these two publications. This comparison has never been made before within English-language scholarship. It will reveal a number of interesting aspects of each publication. In Chapter One, I shall place the two books within the oeuvres of the artists, writers and engravers involved in their publication. I shall then detail the business arrangements relating to each work, Pugin and Doré's methods of artistic production and the subsequent reception of the two books. In Chapter Two, I shall consider the books as examples of the picturesque and Realist aesthetic modes, examining Doré and Pugin's subject matter and pictorial strategies to discover the ways the illustrations adhere to the characteristics of these modes. Chapter Three shall centre on the way social and political

⁴ Augustus Charles Pugin, Charles Heath and L. T. Ventouillac, *Paris and its Environs, Displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views*, In 2 Vols or 2 Vols in 1 (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1829-1831). The edition I consulted is *Paris and its Environs, Displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views*, 2 Vols in 1 (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1831). My thanks go to Robin Stevens for information regarding this edition which is in the rare books collection of the University of Canterbury Library. The spelling of the French titles in the book is inconsistent. I have spelt the words exactly as they appear in the book.

⁵ See Basil Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England* (London: Scholar Press, 1980), pp. 2-3. At the beginning of the century in England, illustrated books were produced in limited editions of up to 1000 using aquatint. By the 1830's, the technique of steel engraving allowed books to be produced on a much larger scale. For example, the English periodical *Forget Me Not* reached 20000 copies some years. These books were reasonably priced and aimed at a middle class audience.

⁶ Thomas Shotter-Boys quoted in Patrick J. Noon, “Bonington and Boys: Some Unpublished Documents at Yale”, *The Burlington Magazine*, v 123, n 938, May 1981, pp. 294-300.

issues are represented in the books, revealing how the artists and writers either celebrate or critique their city subjects. In Chapter Four, I shall compare the two publications to other views of Paris by the English and views of London by the French to discover what is distinctive about Pugin and Doré's works. My thesis will close with an examination of the form of each publication, suggesting that *Paris and its Environs* is in many ways akin to the guidebook form, while *London: A Pilgrimage* is more like an illustrated novel. This will be achieved through a discussion of the way places, narrative and characters or people are treated in each publication. The specific comparisons of each chapter will reveal how the two books are in some ways similar, but on the whole, very different.

Chapter One: Illustrating the capitals: a background to *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage*

Though they share the subject of the city, *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* are two very different publications. In this chapter, I shall set out to provide a background to the two works by examining the careers of the artists and writers involved in the two projects. This will reveal the significance of these particular works within the respective oeuvres of their participants and what influence each person involved had on the book on which they worked. A discussion of how each project came about, as well as the business arrangements between the artists and publishers, will also inform my analysis. In this chapter, I shall also consider the artistic production of the two publications, including the drawing and engraving of the plates. I shall move on to look at the material form the publications took, and the various editions produced. To end this chapter, I shall examine the contemporary readership and critical reception of each book in both England and France, before briefly looking at their continuing influence in the present time. This will provide a background to the discussions found in the other chapters of this thesis.

All the illustrations in *Paris and its Environs* were produced under the direction of Augustus Charles Pugin (1768/9-1832). He was born in Paris in the parish of St Sulpice and began his artistic career in France, where he produced illustrations for the periodical *Le Cabinet des Modes*.¹ The exact date he left Paris is unknown, but he was in London on 27 March 1792 when he enrolled in the Royal Academy Schools.² The reasons for his journey to England are uncertain and the surviving accounts are a mixture of myth and truth. Benjamin Ferrey, Pugin's pupil and biographer, wrote that, during the French revolution, "He fell fighting for the king, and was thrown with some hundred bodies into a pit near the Place de la Bastille, whence he managed to escape by swimming across the Seine, flying to Rouen, and embarking from that place to England."³ Despite the fact he probably knew no English when he arrived in London, he found a job quickly.⁴ His first position there was as a draughtsman

¹ Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect. Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 10-11.

² Ibid, p. 12.

³ Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (London: The Scholar Press, 1978), p. 2. Hill (*God's Architect*, p. 9) notes that one of the myths surrounding his origins was that he was in fact 'Le Comte de Pugin'.

⁴ Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 12.

to the architect John Nash.⁵ However, his attention soon turned to other artistic pursuits. Rosemary Hill writes that by 1821 he was “Artist, draughtsman, engraver, watercolourist and occasional architect, he was also a publisher, print dealer, drawing master and designer of furnishings in the Gothic style, which he published in *The Repository*.”⁶ He was, as Ferrey notes, also responsible for Britain's first diorama.⁷ The variety of artistic work in which he was involved was typical of many artists at this time.

Pugin's most celebrated publication is *The Microcosm of London*, which he produced in collaboration with Thomas Rowlandson.⁸ It was published by Rudolph Ackermann, owner of The Repository of Arts at the Strand, in three volumes, from 1808 to 1810. *The Microcosm of London* was one of the most influential pictorial accounts of Regency London. It contains one hundred coloured lithographs from drawings by Pugin and Rowlandson, alongside texts by William Pyne and William Combe.⁹ As Rosemary Hill suggests, “No work of art or literature held up so clear a mirror to the capital in this age of high taste and low morals.”¹⁰ It is thought the idea for the book originated with Pugin and his wife Catherine Welby. She wrote of producing a book which would cover the complete life of the city. As well as showing the buildings, it would represent “the modes and customs of streets thronged by men and women . . . hurrying to and fro in the pursuit of pleasure, the concerns of business or toiling in the meaning occupations of life.”¹¹ This book can be seen as a precursor to *Paris and its Environs* in its city subject, though the satirical tone of *The Microcosm of London* is not present in the latter book. The humorous tone of many of the illustrations in *The Microcosm of London* was due largely to Thomas Rowlandson's influence, since it was he who was responsible for the figures, rather than Pugin. However, as Hill points out, with his polite readership in mind, Ackermann ensured that the illustrations remained respectable.¹² The modes and manners of the people of London are represented in illustrations that are mainly interior scenes. In *Royal Academy Exhibition, Somerset-House* (Figure 1.1), for

⁵ See H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: from the earliest times to the year 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 518. In subsequent references I shall refer to this work as the *DNB*.

⁶ Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 54-55. Ferrey (p. xx) notes that Pugin exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibitions and was an active member of the Old Watercolour Society. He was also acquainted with Turner.

⁷ See Ferrey, p. xix. This was located in Park Square East in the Regent's Park.

⁸ Augustus Pugin and Thomas Rowlandson, *The Microcosm of London*, 3 Vols (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1808-1810).

⁹ Pyne wrote the text for the first two volumes, while Combe wrote the text for the third volume.

¹⁰ Rosemary Hill, “Bankers, Bawds and Beau Monde,” *Country Life*, November 1994, p. 64.

¹¹ Catherine Welby Pugin quoted in Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 37.

¹² Rosemary Hill, “Bankers, Bawds and Beau Monde,” p. 66.

example, the people themselves are on display as much as the art they are viewing and purchasing. They look very self-assured and relations between men and women seem to be free and easy, with characters conversing closely. There is the wide variety of characters who would be found in contemporary London, both young and old, many of them flamboyantly dressed in brightly coloured, richly trimmed costumes. Other illustrations in *The Microcosm of London* focus on the business of the city. Over the course of the book, Pugin and Rowlandson represent courtrooms, banks, boardrooms and the stock exchange. The illustration *Court of Common Pleas* (Figure 1.2) is an example of this. It expresses the professional seriousness and elegant surroundings of these institutions. The scenes of work provide a contrast to the scenes of pleasure and amusement.¹³ Other institutions of the city such as hospitals and asylums are also included in the book. An example is *Asylum, Dining Hall* (Figure 1.3). The proceedings appear to be very orderly and demonstrate the control such institutions had over their patients. In these illustrations the figures are given much more individuality than those in *Paris and its Environs*. Whilst they are generally dignified, they also seem more active and lively. The detailed architectural settings are characteristic of the work Pugin would do for *Paris and its Environs*.

Another of Pugin's early projects was *The Royal Pavilion at Brighton* (1826). He also contributed illustrations to several other publications by Ackermann. Aside from these, Pugin's other publications were quite different from both *Paris and its Environs* and *The Microcosm of London* in that they focused on detailed architectural drawings – either plans and elevations, or close views of mouldings, decorations and parts of buildings. These were aimed at architects creating buildings in the Gothic style. Pugin's first significant solo publishing venture, *Gothic Furniture*, was published by Ackermann in 1828. Pugin went on to collaborate with the antiquary and topographer John Britton, producing two volumes of *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821 and 1823), *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1827) and *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (2 volumes, 1825, 1828).¹⁴ Their collaboration came to an end when Pugin and the printer of the books involved Britton in a lawsuit. The last of these three books recorded a loss of £460.¹⁵ There was thus a need for Pugin to create a work which would be financially successful. He produced *Paris and its Environs*, but his finances remained troubled. He went on to produce several books of

¹³ As I shall discuss in Chapter Three, in *Paris and its Environs* work mainly takes place outdoors.

¹⁴ The text for *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* was written by E. J. Willson, while the texts of the books on Normandy and London were written by Britton himself.

¹⁵ *DNB*, p. 54.

lithographs, however: *A Series of Views Illustrative of Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1830), *Gothic Ornaments from Ancient Buildings in England and France* (1828-31) and *A Series of Ornamental Timber Gables from Existing Examples in England and France of the Sixteenth Century* (1831).¹⁶ His final publication was *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1831).¹⁷ His son took up the unfinished second volume of this work and in addition produced a third volume. While the elder Pugin's previous work informed *Paris and its Environs*, the resulting book has the most in common with *The Microcosm of London* and can be seen as a sequel of sorts.

While all of the drawings were produced under his direction, Pugin produced only twelve drawings for *Paris and its Environs* in their entirety. His son Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) produced fifteen. This was the first of his father's projects in which he took a significant part.¹⁸ His mother wrote in a letter that "His father calls this work of Paris 'Augustus's work', and well he may, for he has done more than three parts of it, and made sketches and coloured them for the first time from Nature, and written some very good descriptions."¹⁹ Some of the younger Pugin's illustrations depict architecture in the Gothic style.²⁰ In this way, his work on the book anticipates his interest and subsequent career in the field of medieval art and architecture, and shows the influence of his father's work. Three of the elder Pugin's other pupils also played a significant part in the production of the book. These were Joseph Nash (1809-1878), an architectural painter and lithographer who produced 83 of the drawings; Thomas Talbot Bury (1809-1877), an architect and engraver who produced 45 of the drawings; and Benjamin Ferrey (1810-1880), an architect who produced 36 of the drawings. *Paris and its Environs* was also the first significant project in which these artists were involved and one on which they worked while they were studying under Pugin.²¹ Joseph Nash's most significant publication after he left Pugin's school was the four volumes of *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* (1839-49). His interest then "shifted

¹⁶ The first of these contains a text by W. H. Leeds and lithography by Joseph Nash, the second lithographs by J. D. Harding, and the third a text by E. J. Willson and lithographs by B. Ferrey.

¹⁷ *DNB*, p. 520.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* The younger Pugin went on to become an architect, writer and designer.

¹⁹ Ferrey, pp. 35-36.

²⁰ These are *Sainte Chapelle*, *Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 25, *Fontainebleau*, *Cour des Fontaines*, facing p. 29, *Château St. Germain en Laie*, facing p. 47, *Eglise de St. Genevieve*, facing p. 51, *Hôtel de Cluny*. *Dans le quinzieme siecle*, facing p. 69, *Fontainebleau*, *Vers le Jardin*, facing p. 77, *Eglise de St. Germain l' Auxerrois*, facing p. 79, *Chapelle du Palais de Versailles*, facing p. 86, *Fontainebleau*, *Cour des Cuisines*, facing p. 91, *Vue du Pont d' Austerlitz*, facing p. 121, *Hôtel du Preux (Rue des Bourdonnais)*, facing p. 143, and *Hôtel de l' Ambassadeur d' Angleterre*, facing p. 143.

²¹ See Hill, pp. 89-90. Pugin ran a drawing school in Great Russell Street.

from ecclesiastical to secular buildings, from the Gothic to the Tudor period, and from purely architectural to more picturesque compositions.”²² After leaving Pugin's school, Thomas Talbot Bury commenced his architectural career at 7 Gerrard Street, Soho. His publications included *Coloured Views of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway* (published by Ackermann in 1831), *Remains of Ecclesiastical Woodwork* (1847) and *History and Description of the Styles of Architecture of Various Countries, from the Earliest to the Present Period* (1849).²³ Benjamin Ferrey's subsequent publications included, *The Antiquities of the Priory of Christchurch, Hants* (1834), *Answer to Thoughts on Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament* (1835) and *Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin and his father, Augustus Pugin* (1861). The latter is the most significant contemporary biography of the Pugins and was informed by the seven years he spent as a boarder in the Pugins' house in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.²⁴ Several other artists also contributed drawings to *Paris and its Environs*.²⁵ This book is significant for being one of the first projects in which Pugin's pupils were involved and in some ways informed their subsequent work.

The other partner in the project was the landscape and figure engraver Charles Theodosius Heath (1785-1848). Just as Pugin did not complete all the drawings for *Paris and its Environs* and relied heavily on the help of his pupils, Charles Heath superintended the engraving rather than undertaking it himself. Charles Heath was the son of James Heath (1775-1834), who was also an engraver. The younger Heath inaugurated the production of popular illustrated annuals and gift books in England. He began by producing engravings for *The Amulet*, *Literary Souvenir* and *Landscape Annual*. He then started his own successful publications: *The Keepsake*, *Heath's Picturesque Annual* (1832-45), *Heath's Book of Beauty* (1833-49) and similar publications such as J. M. W. Turner's *Picturesque Views in England and Wales*.²⁶ *Paris and its Environs* can be seen as a similar project to *Heath's Picturesque Annual* and indeed was a precursor to it. Charles Heath was also instrumental in the development of steel engraving as a popular method of illustration in the early nineteenth century. He produced England's first steel-engraved illustration for the 1821 edition of Thomas Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*.²⁷ By the time *Paris and its Environs* was produced,

²² See *DNB*, p. 222.

²³ See *ibid*, p. 71.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 436.

²⁵ These were W. Price (three drawings), F. A. Rundle (one drawing), T. Kearmandel (one drawing), A. Shawdel (two drawings), W. Bevan (one drawing) and J. Finch (one drawing).

²⁶ See *DNB*, p. 162.

²⁷ James Heath, *The Heath Family Engravers 1779-1878*, Vol. 2 (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1993), p. 21.

Heath did very little engraving for any of his projects and from 1828 “employed assistants and journeymen engravers.”²⁸ The annuals he produced were immensely popular at the time. A contemporary of Heath's, Alaric Watts, wrote that their influence “was eminently healthful and refining, highly conducive as they were to the awakening and stimulating among the great mass of the middle classes especially in the country, of the taste for landscape art in England.”²⁹ They were looked down on by many prominent artists and critics, however. John Landseer complained that “engraving had become a mere trade and that Heath and his son Charles had used it as such employing artists at lower prices, taking the profits and giving their names to the plates.”³⁰ Steel engraving itself was falling out of favour as other methods such as lithography were developed. Pugin, himself, moved to lithography in his subsequent publications. *Paris and its Environs* has much in common with a number of Charles Heath's other publications. Indeed, his reputation and popularity was a selling point for the work.

The text of *Paris and its Environs* was written by L. T. Ventouillac. Born in Calais in 1798, Ventouillac came to England in 1816, and became a professor of French literature and language at the Royal College of London in 1830. He published a number of books on French language and culture including *The French Librarian or Literary Guide* (1829).³¹ This work pointed out the best works of the principal writers in France in every branch of literature; with criticisms, personal anecdotes and bibliographical notices.³² The text of *Paris and its Environs* is in both French and English and is characterized on the title page as containing “topographical and historical descriptions.” In this way, it is characteristic of Ventouillac's work. The text of *Paris and its Environs* may have been written after the plates were produced as it explains what is depicted in the illustrations, though there is no firm evidence to substantiate this or the reverse. The relationship between the illustrations and the text in this publication is very different from that of *London: A Pilgrimage* in that Ventouillac's text never contradicts Pugin's illustrations, where Jerrold's text is often in opposition to Doré's illustrations. Ventouillac's role in the publication does not seem as prominent as Pugin's, and as was the case with other illustrated books at this time, the text forms something of an appendage to the illustrations.

²⁸ *DNB*, p. 162.

²⁹ Heath, p 28.

³⁰ Landseer quoted in *ibid*, p. 13.

³¹ See J. M. Quérard, *La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire Bibliographique* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve & Larosel, 1964), p. 99.

³² Like *Paris and its Environs*, it was sold in both Paris and London.

Unlike the drawings for Pugin's *Paris and its Environs*, which were divided between several artists and were thus very collaborative, all of the illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage* were produced by Gustave Doré (1832-1883). M. Bourdelain, however, helped Doré with some of the architectural details of the plates. One of Doré's biographers reproduces notes where Bourdelain wrote: "he had requested me to aid him in the architectural and picturesque portions of his work . . . I filled in backgrounds, houses or monuments which he afterwards animated with his glowing fanciful pencil."³³ Doré moved from his birthplace of Strasbourg to Paris, in 1847, to work for Charles Philipon. Under contract to Philipon, he produced caricatures for the *Journal Pour Rire*.³⁴ However, he was not satisfied with producing only caricatures. In 1850, he completed a course of study at the Lycée Charlemagne and exhibited his first painting at the Salon.³⁵ Doré was an intensely prolific illustrator. During the year 1855, for example, he produced approximately 300 illustrations.³⁶ According to Henri Leblanc, there are 138 books illustrated by Doré.³⁷ Doré's ambition was to illustrate every one of the European classics.³⁸ He did not quite achieve this, but did illustrate many works of literature, including Rabelais' *Oeuvres de Rabelais* (1854), Balzac's *Contes Drolatiques* (1855), Dante's *The Divine Comedy* (1861-68), Théophile Gautier's *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (1862), Perrault's *Contes* (1862), Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1863), Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1866), Gautier's *Capitaine Fracasse* (1866), La Fontaine's *Fables* (1867), Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1867) and Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1875).³⁹ Doré was thus a much more prolific illustrator than Pugin. The Realist subject matter of *London: A Pilgrimage*, was quite different from these earlier works, though it does share their imaginative qualities.⁴⁰ By the time of *London: A Pilgrimage*, however, Doré's interest in illustration had waned and he wished to be taken seriously as a painter. As Jerrold wrote, "he would indulge in a burst of anger and regret that he had undertaken to illustrate *London*. He feared the illustrator would be again welcomed at the expense of the painter."⁴¹ Doré believed that, especially in France, people could not accept

³³ See Blanche Roosevelt, *Life and Reminiscences of Gustave Doré* (London: Sampson Low, 1885), pp. 368-369.

³⁴ See Eric Zafran (ed) with Robert Rosenblum and Lisa Small, *Fantasy and Faith. The Art of Gustave Doré* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 13.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See Nigel Gosling, *Gustave Doré* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), pp. 105-107.

³⁸ See Millicent Rose, *Gustave Doré* (London: Pleiades Books, 1946), p. 24.

³⁹ See Zafran, pp. 13-14 for a chronology of Doré's work.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Two for a discussion of Doré's style and Chapter Five for an examination of the imaginative qualities of *London: A Pilgrimage*.

⁴¹ Blanchard Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1891), p. 189.

him as a serious painter due to the fact that he already had an established reputation as an illustrator. The Franco-Prussian war also influenced his negative outlook at this time.⁴² As was the case with Pugin, Doré's previous work and his ambitions at the time informed his approach to the illustration of *London: A Pilgrimage*, though it stands out from his other work for its Realism, which will be discussed later.

In addition to his literary subjects, Doré produced some illustrations from contemporary life. As well as producing caricatures for the French periodical *Journal Pour Rire*, which often included Parisian subjects, he also produced the illustrations for Emile de Labedolliere's *Le Nouveau Paris*.⁴³ This history of the twenty *arrondissements* included maps by Desbuissons as well as wood engravings from drawings by Doré, and was published in 1860. It is one of the few other examples of Doré's illustrations to be in a Realist style. He had previously created a series of twelve oil paintings entitled *Paris as it is*. It is unknown what happened to these canvases, but Theophile Gautier described them thus: "They are too indecent to be exhibited, but too real, too great to be left in oblivion. What is to be done with them? They reek with the filth of all that is lowest and vilest in the most abject slums of Paris. What can he do with them?"⁴⁴ *Le Nouveau Paris* is a more toned down view than *Paris as it is* presumably was. While the text discusses the history of the *arrondissements*, Doré's illustrations are mainly of contemporary life, though there are some historical scenes. Doré depicts the entertainments and leisure activities of Parisians in illustrations such as *Le Jardin des Plantes* (Figure 1.4). He closely observes the manners of the people, at times treating them in a satirical manner. Here, Doré makes fun of a man gazing at a deer in an enclosure, while an accompanying woman covertly hands a note to another man.⁴⁵ In *L' Omnibus de la Bastille* (Figure 1.5) the subject is the folly of modern fashion and transport. Various well-dressed figures, including a woman in a crinoline, struggle to enter a bus in the wind and rain. In general, in *Le Nouveau Paris*, Doré does not make as strong statements on social issues as he does in *London: A Pilgrimage*. Nevertheless in the illustration *Le déjeuner* (Figure 1.6) he depicts one of the back streets of Paris.⁴⁶ Two plainly dressed women are represented in humble surroundings. Doré seems interested in providing an insight into the lives of the

⁴² See Rose, p. 54.

⁴³ See Emile de Labedolliere, *Le Nouveau Paris. Histoire de ses 20 Arrondissements* (Paris: Gustave Barba, Libraire-Editeur, 1860). A second volume was produced in 1866. The first volume contains 150 drawings by Doré.

⁴⁴ See Roosevelt, p. 169.

⁴⁵ See Chapter Three for a discussion of Doré's depiction of the upper classes in *London: A Pilgrimage*.

⁴⁶ The complete title of this illustration is illegible in the version that was available to me.

lower classes and their physical environment as well as Paris' better known attractions. This anticipates the journey on which Doré takes the viewer in *London: A Pilgrimage* – to dangerous and less traversed areas of the city.⁴⁷

The text of *London: A Pilgrimage* was written by William Blanchard Jerrold (1826-1884), an English journalist and playwright who was the son of Douglas Jerrold. The younger Jerrold previously wrote for *The Daily News*, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Athenaeum*, *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, and also wrote novels and plays. His first novel was *A Disgrace to the Family: a story of Social Distinction* (1847-8). This was illustrated by Phiz, well known as Dickens' illustrator. His first play was a one-act farce entitled *Cool as a Cucumber*. He produced guidebooks including ones to the Great Exhibition and the British Museum.⁴⁸ He also published books on his travels in Sweden and Norway. From about 1853 or 1854, Jerrold began to spend much time in Paris and wrote a series of articles on that city for *Household Words*.⁴⁹ He covered the Paris Universal Exhibition for the *Daily News* and published an official guide to it. He went on to write the four-volume *Life of Napoleon III: Derived from State Records, from Unpublished Family Correspondence, and from Personal Testimony* (1874-82). Through this Parisian work, Jerrold became a personal friend of Doré, which is quite different from the more strictly business relationship of Pugin and Ventouillac.⁵⁰ Jerrold went on to write a biography of Doré, which was nearly completed when Jerrold himself died and published posthumously in 1891. This biography is one of the two significant contemporary accounts of Doré's life.⁵¹ Other publications by Jerrold include *Life of George Cruikshank in Two Epochs* (1882).⁵² These previous activities in journalism, fiction and drama informed the tension between factual information and more novel-like elements in the text of *London: A Pilgrimage*, underlining the significance of Jerrold's role in the eventual character of that work.

The idea for *Paris and its Environs* originated with Pugin, though he found business partners for the project. As I previously noted, *Paris and its Environs* was the publication

⁴⁷ See Chapter Five.

⁴⁸ See *DNB*, p. 61.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ There is no written evidence to firmly establish the depth or distance of Pugin and Ventouillac's association, however.

⁵¹ The other being Blanche Roosevelt's biography of Doré.

⁵² See *DNB*, p. 61.

which followed Pugin's lawsuit with John Britton. The cost of the court case and the fact that he would not receive any money for his last two works with Britton meant that Pugin's finances were not in the best shape at this time.⁵³ As Hill points out, his next illustrative project was intended to be “a trip to Germany to 'take documents and sketches to publish a work on the German style of architecture of the Middle Ages' along the lines of *Antiquities of Normandy*.”⁵⁴ This project was abandoned, however, and as Hill writes further:

In September [of 1828] the Pugins were back in Paris, working on a hastily conceived potboiler, *Paris and its Environs*. Designed to fill the gap in their programme left by the abandoned German project, it was one of the 'cheap topographical works' now so common that the *Gentleman's Magazine* merely listed them.⁵⁵

The book was obviously intended to be popular and a money maker for Pugin. *Paris and its Environs* was not Pugin's first illustrative project based around Paris, this was Ackermann's *Picturesque Tour of the Seine*.⁵⁶ Pugin had, with his pupils, made numerous trips to France during the 1820's to make drawings for his various publications. According to Clive Wainwright they travelled there in 1819, 1821 and every year from 1823 to 1828.⁵⁷ Travelling to France was thus a matter of course for Pugin and his pupils. This was in part due to Pugin's French connections. Pugin had remained in England throughout the revolutionary struggles in France. In 1814, one of Pugin's old friends, Louis Lafitte, arrived in London.⁵⁸ Through Lafitte, Pugin made many more French contacts including the Duchesses de Berry and d' Angoulême.⁵⁹ Other contacts included the French antiquarians E. H. Langlois and A. de Caumont, who helped him with his research for *Paris and its Environs*.⁶⁰ These connections would have provided him with a French outlet for his work. Pugin's partners for *Paris and its Environs* were Charles Heath and the publishers Jennings and Chaplin. Robert Jennings began his publishing business in 1812 and gained a reputation for topographical books. As well as publishing volumes of Robert Batty's topographical

⁵³ Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 78. These two books were *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* and *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 77.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 78.

⁵⁶ See John Ford, *Ackermann 1783-1983: The Business of Art* (London: Ackermann, 1983), p. 70. This book was published in 1821 and included a text by Jean-Baptiste-Balthazar Sauvan.

⁵⁷ Clive Wainwright, “A. W. N. Pugin and France” in Paul Atterbury (ed), *A. W. N. Pugin. Master of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 1995, p. 63.

⁵⁸ Hill, p. 46.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 55. Duchess de Berry and Duchess d' Angoulême were both patrons of the arts and admirers of Scott. Pugin supplied them with illustrated books and prints.

⁶⁰ Alexandra Wedgewood, with a contribution by Christopher Wilson, *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects : the Pugin family* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1977), p. 9. E. H. Langlois and A. de Caumont also helped with his research for *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*.

works, Jennings created the *Landscape Annual*.⁶¹ William Chaplin joined Jennings as a business partner in 1831. Between 1826 and 1832 Charles Heath worked principally with both. Together they produced *Picturesque Views* and the *Landscape Annual* for 1830/31.⁶² Their collaboration continued until a disagreement in 1833.⁶³ *Paris and its Environs* was not a part of any of their topographical series but had much in common with them. The countries illustrated in these publications included Italy, France, Spain, Morocco and Portugal.⁶⁴ James Heath describes Charles Heath's typical business arrangements:

While he, as proprietor of any new publishing venture, would employ the editor, commission and pay the engravers chosen by means of three or four month bills of exchange, and generally supervise and promote the work, the publishers would arrange for all the printing, publishing and distribution requirements at their expense; in addition they would be expected to make advances to Charles to cover his overheads, to be repaid out of profits which would be equally divided.⁶⁵

It is presumed that Pugin also received advances for his illustrations from the publisher. There is no documentation regarding the choice of Ventouillac as a writer of the text, though his background made him a suitable candidate. There was obviously much resting on the success of this project for Pugin.

The idea of *London: A Pilgrimage* was suggested to Doré by Jerrold, though it was Doré himself who was the star of the project. There is no documentation on why Jerrold did not choose an English artist for the project, but he presumably chose Doré for his artistic reputation and the fact that they were close personal friends. Doré's movements between Paris and London were quite different from Pugin's, and it seems to have been with some reluctance that he initially travelled to England and became involved in the project. His first significant contact with England, and Blanchard Jerrold, was his assignment to illustrate Queen Victoria's visit to Paris for the *Illustrated London News*. This was accompanied by a text written by Jerrold.⁶⁶ Doré initially travelled to England to illustrate Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* for the publisher Moxon and to oversee the opening of the Doré gallery, where he was to exhibit his oil paintings and drawings.⁶⁷ Doré was unenthusiastic about going to

⁶¹ The first volume of *The Landscape Annual* was published in 1830 and the second in 1831.

⁶² Heath, p. 54.

⁶³ Basil Hunnisett, *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1989), p. 3.

⁶⁴ See Frederick W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books. A Bibliography. 1823-1900*, Reprinted with supplementary essays by Eleanore Jamieson and Iain Bain (Private Libraries Association, 1973), p. 103.

⁶⁵ Heath, p. 55.

⁶⁶ See Roosevelt, p. 245.

⁶⁷ Roosevelt (pp. 330-346) notes that the Doré Gallery was located at 35 New Bond Street, and was open from 1868 – 1892. According to Roosevelt, it originated in a commission given to Doré by Messrs. Fairless and Beeforth to paint *The Triumph of Christianity over Paganism*. Roosevelt also notes (ibid, p. 346) that some

England in the first place, writing to his friend Arthur Kratz: “You know that I hate leaving my country, my people, and my home. With the English I am not sure that I should get on.”⁶⁸ When he actually arrived in England, Doré became a popular figure in society, but he was homesick at the same time.⁶⁹ Through his involvement with the Doré gallery, trips to England became a regular undertaking. From 1867, he came to England every year.⁷⁰ Jerrold then proposed the London project. As Jerrold wrote:

The work on London, which was the joint production of Gustave Doré and the present writer, was undertaken at the suggestion of the latter, when the artist was staying with him in Jermyn Street, and was busy establishing his gallery of paintings in Bond Street . . . The writer sketched a comprehensive work embracing every phase and aspect of London life. It was to have filled twenty, or even thirty parts. As the plan unfolded one morning, while Doré was smoking, and dreamily covering paper with sketches, it gradually engrossed him.⁷¹

The project was different from *Paris and its Environs* in that the idea rested with the writer rather than the illustrator, and Doré became disenchanted with the project well before its completion: “before a page of the book was printed, Doré offered £600 to be released from his bargain.”⁷² Doré was very much a foreigner in England and never learned the language, unlike Pugin in France, who knew the language and had a better understanding of French life than Doré had of English life.⁷³ Doré was a much bigger name in illustration than Pugin, and whatever the reception of the book, it was expected to be a commercial success, and indeed it was. The arrangements made by Doré to stay in London during the course of producing the publication are well documented.⁷⁴ Bourdelin wrote that they spent six months in London. Doré worked during the entire summer of 1871 in an apartment on the first floor of the Westminster Palace Hotel.⁷⁵ Doré was detained in Paris in 1870 due to the war and on July the 10th the next year was at Morley's Hotel in London. At the end of July 1872 he returned to London to wind up their project.⁷⁶ *London: A Pilgrimage* was published by Grant & Co. There were some difficulties with the arrangements with the publishers. The business

of the paintings and drawings Doré displayed here represented London subjects, an example being *The Flower-Sellers*.

⁶⁸ See Roosevelt, pp. 294-295.

⁶⁹ Roosevelt (p. 300) writes that “he was 'the fashion', and fairly in the swing of that dizzy social vortex – a London Season.” Jerrold was not Doré's only close English associate. Another of his close English friends was the minor canon of Westminster, Frederick Harford, with whom he corresponded. See *ibid.*, p. 306.

⁷⁰ Rose, p. 11.

⁷¹ Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, p. 151.

⁷² Roosevelt, p. 366.

⁷³ See Chapter Four for more on these cross channel perspectives.

⁷⁴ By Blanchard Jerrold and Blanche Roosevelt.

⁷⁵ See Roosevelt, p. 368. As Joanna Richardson in *Gustave Doré: A Biography* (London: Cassell, 1980), p. 102, writes: “Bourdelin's account of events is different in many points from Jerrold's and it should be taken with some caution.”

⁷⁶ See Jerrold, pp. 158-188.

negotiations were irritating to Doré who was always more concerned with art than business.⁷⁷ The project was, however, to be a very profitable one for Doré in particular. As Peter Ackroyd notes: “The project of illustrating London was contracted for four years, during which period Doré was paid an advance of £10000 per year. This was an enormous sum by any standard, but Doré's acclaim and success were now so great that it seemed merely appropriate.”⁷⁸ This was probably much more than Pugin received, though those figures are unknown. Even if Doré was unenthusiastic, the project would have been worth his while financially.

The engravers for *Paris and its Environs* were those of Charles Heath's atelier. As already discussed, at this time Heath did not complete the engravings himself. His atelier employed English engravers, many of them well known. There were at least 35 different engravers used over the course of the project. The company Fenner, Sears & Co. was responsible for many of the engravings in the last section of the book.⁷⁹ It was quite usual to have so many engravers in order to meet publishing deadlines.⁸⁰ Steel engraving reached a peak during the 1820's and 1830's, and *Paris and its Environs* was produced during this most active period.⁸¹ The process was accused of being somewhat mechanical, however. Contemporary commentator J. T. Smith referred to the “Liliputian [sic] labours” of the engravers.⁸² Because the finished engravings are so small, much of the fine detail is not visible. Steel engraving is an intaglio process and the end result produces black lines on a white background. A burin is used to engrave the lines the artist wishes to be black on a metal plate which is then inked up. It is then wiped clean and the ink seeps into the grooves. It is this ink which creates the lines when it is put through the press.⁸³ The original drawings were watercolours. An example is the watercolour of the *Rotonde, Passage Colbert* (Figure 1.7). This is by Benjamin Ferrey, but the one the final engraving was taken from was by Joseph Nash. For each scene Pugin required more than one drawing so he could choose the best for the final engraving.⁸⁴ The gap between the original drawing and the engraving itself is larger with steel engraving than wood engraving due to the former process requiring the engraver to interpret the drawing

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 157.

⁷⁸ Peter Ackroyd in the introduction to *London: A Pilgrimage* (London: Anthem, 2005).

⁷⁹ See Appendices for a list of the engravers.

⁸⁰ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England*, p. 205.

⁸¹ Hunnisett, *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers*, p. 2. One steel plate could print 10500 copies as opposed to the 3000 copies allowed by a copper plate.

⁸² J. T. Smith quoted in Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England*, p. 7.

⁸³ My thanks go to Dr Jillian Cassidy for information on printing processes.

⁸⁴ See Paul Atterbury (ed), *A. W. N. Pugin. Master of the Gothic Revival*, p. 243.

themselves from paper. A drawing was never done directly onto steel. Despite this difficulty, the finished engraving (Figure 4.8) is very close to the watercolour. The plates of *Paris and its Environs* achieve contrasts of light and shade and are very detailed.⁸⁵ Despite the limitations of the medium, the engravings of *Paris and its Environs* are good example of what steel-engravers could achieve.

Unlike Pugin, who was not involved in the choice of individual engravers, Doré chose the engravers for *London: A Pilgrimage* himself. The engravers (many of whom he had worked with before) were all French, though the book was printed in England. There were at least 25 engravers used over the course of the publication.⁸⁶ This is not quite as many as for the process of steel engraving, but is still a typical staff for a book of this kind. Since it was first published in monthly parts, speed was an issue. The engravers who worked on *London: A Pilgrimage* included Pisan, Hildebrand and Pannemaker.⁸⁷ Roosevelt wrote of Doré's group of engravers:

He finally stumbled upon three young artisans almost as clever at engraving as he was at drawing. You may imagine his delight. After that I heard very few complaints about the 'destruction of his work.' . . . These engravers seemed to seize Doré's thoughts by intuition; they became his friends, and their united labour was one of love.⁸⁸

Having worked closely with him, these artists would have known what Doré wanted artistically. This is very different from the relationship between the engravers of Heath's atelier and the artists who worked with Pugin. Doré drew directly onto the blocks, which was not how the process always worked: "He never made a preliminary sketch on paper, but executed his drawings straight off upon the wood. He was very hard to please in the matter of blocks, and could never work upon inferior wood."⁸⁹ These drawings were very detailed as is illustrated by *Couple and Two Children Sleeping on a London Bridge* (Figure 1.8). Despite the relationship between the original drawing and the engraving being much closer in Doré's book than in Pugin's and indeed in any steel engraving, some detail is lost. There is also a great difference in the general appearance of the illustrations produced by the different engravers. With the process of wood engraving, black lines on a white background in a drawing become white ones on a black background in the finished print. The pieces of wood

⁸⁵ See Chapter Two for an analysis of their pictorial effects.

⁸⁶ See Appendices for a list of the engravers.

⁸⁷ See Benezit, *Dictionary of artists* (Paris: Gründ, 2006). Pisan previously worked on *Don Quixote*, *The Bible* and *Perrault's Tales*, Hildebrand worked on *The Divine Comedy* and Pannemaker worked on many of Doré's previous books.

⁸⁸ Roosevelt, p. 96.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 180.

used for engraving are usually from the centre of a log. A burin is used to remove what will be the white areas. The ink is then applied with a roller and the plate is run through the press with a dampened piece of paper.⁹⁰ This is one of the reasons for the way that Doré's illustrations often appear much darker in colour than Pugin's.⁹¹ The illustrations in *London: A Pilgrimage* show the artistry wood-engravers could achieve.

Pugin and his pupils produced *Paris and its Environs* from drawings they produced on the spot in Paris. It is presumed that their approach to *Paris and its Environs* would have been similar to the production of the book on Normandy. As Hill relates, for the Normandy book: "The party travelled at a considerable pace in the large French stagecoaches, the Pugins inside and the pupils out. They would undertake a round trip of 100 miles in three days drawing the buildings as they went."⁹² This need for speed is similar to Doré's approach and is an insight into how *Paris and its Environs* may have been produced as well. Benjamin Ferrey also recalled their travels in Paris to produce *Paris and its Environs*:

During the year 1827 he [A.W.N. Pugin] again accompanied his father on a professional tour in France, and was of great assistance to him, for he sketched well and could speak French fluently. He seems even at this time to have overworked himself, as we find Mrs. Pugin writing to her sister thus: 'My poor Augustus has latterly been very unwell, and on Thursday last alarmed us much; he went before breakfast to draw in Notre Dame, when suddenly (as he describes his sensation) the whole building on every side seemed breaking and tumbling to pieces, and the pavement so agitated he could not stand; fortunately Mr. Nash was drawing with him, and got him into a coach and brought him home pale as death.'⁹³

The Pugin party thus travelled very much like the upper class visitors they were. There was nothing covert about their drawing methods. This is quite different from the manner in which Doré and Jerrold worked. The other difference was the need for accuracy and close observation demanded by Pugin in the production of these drawings. The method of artistic production is reflected in the detail of the finished illustrations.

In the same way *Paris and its Environs* was drawn from life, *London: A Pilgrimage* was produced from drawings which Doré made on the spot in London. The sketches which are featured throughout Jerrold's biography of Doré are very rough line sketches and outlines. An example of this is his sketch of *The New Zealander* (Figure 1.9). There is no attention to small details in these initial drawings. They capture the shape of people and buildings in a

⁹⁰ My thanks go to Dr Jillian Cassidy for information on printing processes.

⁹¹ See Chapter Two for more on the artistic effects.

⁹² Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 63.

⁹³ Ferrey, p. 39.

scene. Jerrold writes: “His habit was to pause awhile and take in a scene; and, in the evening at his hotel, to fill a sketch-book with notes of the day's observations.”⁹⁴ Doré was much more covert in his drawing than Pugin and his party, not wanting to spend long in any place or for anyone to see him while he was drawing. His method of production is similar to that of Charles Baudelaire's *flâneur*, who wanted to “see the world, to be at the very centre of the world, and yet to be unseen of the world.”⁹⁵ Jerrold wrote of Doré: “I could seldom prevail upon him to make a sketch on the spot . . . He made his old answer: 'J'ai beaucoup de collodion dans la tête.' But he was shy.”⁹⁶ Jerrold also noted, “In the docks, when I had insisted he ought to fortify himself with some notes of the shipping, he complied only on the condition that I would stand before him to shield him.”⁹⁷ For his visit to the slums with Jerrold, he disguised himself in ragged old clothes. Roosevelt wrote: “I am told that his dress was a triumph of vagabondage and Bill Skyes style of significance.”⁹⁸ It was important for Doré to actually be on the scene, even if he did not wish to be seen. The chief of police wrote to Canon Harford, “I regret that I have only just heard of M. Gustave Doré's wish to see the dens of the London thieves to-night. There is no time now to make proper arrangements, but you may be put in the way of seeing a good deal by showing this note to the inspector on duty at King Street Police Station.”⁹⁹ Doré went right into the slums to get the true view of them. He did not wish his subjects to pose for him, but to capture them as they really were. This shows that working from life or at least seeing his subjects in situ was important. In common with the illustrations in *Paris and its Environs*, the sketchiness of the pictures in *London: A Pilgrimage* reveals how the method of artistic production influenced the finished engravings.

Both *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* first appeared in monthly parts.¹⁰⁰ Releasing a book in monthly parts had become a common way of publishing novels at this

⁹⁴ Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, p. 196.

⁹⁵ Charles Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life” in *Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. P. E. Charvet (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 399-400.

⁹⁶ Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, p. 153.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 154.

⁹⁸ Roosevelt, p. 350.

⁹⁹ Quoted in ibid, p. 349.

¹⁰⁰ The first part of *Paris and its Environs* was published in September 1828 and the final in July 1831 at a cost of 1s for the regular version or 2s for that on india paper (*The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, n 46, Wednesday 10 September, 1828, p. 726 and n 192, Saturday 2 July, 1831, p. 432). The first part of *London: A Pilgrimage* was published in January 1872 and was priced at 5s, while the final part, a double number, was published in December 1872 and priced at 10s (*The Times*, Saturday 6 January, 1872, p. 12 and Wednesday 4 December, 1872, p. 6).

time, one that influenced them in a formal sense.¹⁰¹ Each installment of *Paris and its Environs* contained four illustrations, while the serial issues of *London: A Pilgrimage* contained a selection of illustrations different to that which would appear in each chapter of the final volume.¹⁰² There would have been a need for novelty among the illustrations to sustain a reader's interest. In the case of Doré's book this was over the period of a year as opposed to the three years over which Pugin's book was released. Both publications were eventually issued as lavish bound volumes which would have been attractive to people who collected books (Figure 1.10 and Figure 1.11).¹⁰³ The books themselves could be considered works of art as much as their individual illustrations. At the time *Paris and its Environs* was produced, landscape annuals and gift annuals were very popular with readers. *London: A Pilgrimage* was advertised in *The Times* as "The Handsomest Christmas Present for 1872." It was thus also presented as a gift book. Blanche Roosevelt claimed: "Indeed it would have been difficult to have entered a house in London where the word 'art' could be correctly spelt and not to have found one of Gustave Doré's grand illustrated classics."¹⁰⁴ Illustrated books such as these were status symbols for an aspiring middle class.

The primary audience of *Paris and its Environs* was an English one. In terms of its reception, there was a division between those who thought it was an admirable book and those who felt it to be overly commercial. The landscape artist Thomas Shotter Boys held the latter opinion, writing:

I am about a work on Paris to follow up Girtin's for it has never been done but by him and his sketches are so correct there is not a line out. Nash's, Batty's, Pugin's, Skelton's and all the French (excepting the beautiful Silvestres which are *not always* correct) and Martens are the damdest, lying, ill got up, money getting clap-trap possible. I intend to do 'Paris as it is'.¹⁰⁵

This seems to have been one of the common views of the publication at the time of its publication. On the appearance of the first monthly installment, the reviewer for *The*

¹⁰¹ See Chapter Five.

¹⁰² For example, part three contained the illustrations *Bishopsgate Street, Between Bridges, Victoria Embankment, Lavender Girl, Orange Woman, Lemonade Vendor, Refuge – Applying for Admittance, In the Abbey, Westminster, Greenwich – In the Season, Lambeth Potteries, The Devil's Acre, Newgate – Exercise Yard and Hansom Cab* (*The Times*, n 27311, Wednesday 28 February, 1872, p. 12).

¹⁰³ A reader could also choose to have the monthly parts they had collected bound together. *Paris and its Environs* appeared in quarto and folio size, in morocco decorated with gilt. It cost either 63s or 115s on india paper. See Alexander Peddie, Robert (ed), *The English Catalogue of Books, 1801-1836* (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), p. 432. *London: A Pilgrimage* appeared in folio size in either cloth for £3.10s or full morocco antique for £7. (*The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, n 2354, 7 December, 1872, p. 743). Readers could purchase a reading case for the parts at 3s (*The Times*, 28 February, 1872, p. 12). See Chapter Two for a discussion of the integration of text and image on the page.

¹⁰⁴ Roosevelt, p. 303.

¹⁰⁵ Shotter-Boys, quoted in Noon, p. 298.

Gentleman's Magazine was, to a certain degree also disparaging of the publication and others of its kind, writing: "The great demand for the views of the 'Metropolitan Improvements in the Nineteenth Century', has induced many publishers to embark in similar works: a list, therefore, of such as have come to our knowledge is here subjoined."¹⁰⁶ *Paris and its Environs* is on the list. This view, like that of Shotter-Boys, is quite negative. The reviewer's opinion is that there is not much to distinguish one publication of this type from another. However, the reviewer in the *Athenaeum* was much more positive about the publication:

The name of Mr. Pugin was a guarantee for the excellence of the drawings of the interesting architectural views afforded by the streets and buildings of Paris, and the superintendence of Mr. Heath was an assurance that the pencil would be done justice to by the burin. The first number of the work which has just appeared fully answers the expectations which its announcement has excited.¹⁰⁷

This is quite a contrasting view of the publication. It must have been relatively successful with its market to warrant its continuation into a second volume, and over such a long period. In the periodicals of the time, *Paris and its Environs* was advertised alongside books on the fine arts. It was also advertised some years later in an auction lot from "the select library of a gentleman."¹⁰⁸ This suggests that *Paris and its Environs* would have been regarded as an appropriate addition to the library of the middle to upper classes.

Paris and its Environs was sold simultaneously in Paris and Dublin as well as in London.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, as Heath points out, there was a market for English steel-engraved books in France during the period, as French engraving was not considered to be of the same standard.¹¹⁰ According to Hunnisett, steel-engraved books were sold on the continent, France and Germany being the best markets.¹¹¹ All copies of Pugin's book were published in England and then sent to the distributors in other cities. As well as Pugin's aforementioned French connections, Charles Heath also had a number of French connections which may have aided in the distribution of the book. According to James Heath, "Charles had friends in France, possibly from his father's time, and made several visits there to make arrangements with various agents in Paris for distribution."¹¹² The impact of the publication in France must have been slight, however, since there are no major reviews of it in the major periodicals at

¹⁰⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1829, p. 253.

¹⁰⁷ *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, Wednesday 10 September, 1828, p. 726.

¹⁰⁸ *The Times*, April 10, 1832, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ See *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, n 60, Wednesday 17 December, 1828, p. 958. In Paris it was sold at Treuttal and Wurtz.

¹¹⁰ See Heath, p. 56.

¹¹¹ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England*, p. 161.

¹¹² Heath, p. 56.

the time.¹¹³ It can be concluded, then, that its influence was largely restricted to England.

The primary audience of *London: A Pilgrimage* was also an English one, since that is the place where it was first published. It was much more widely advertised and reviewed than Pugin's book. This demonstrates how the influence of the illustrated book had become much more far-reaching by the time Doré's book was published. That it was highly visible also reflects Doré's prominence as an artist. The book was very successful and sold well. While critics acknowledged that *London: A Pilgrimage* as a whole was admirable, they had some qualms with its content. The reviewer for the *Art Journal* wrote that it was "in all respects a remarkable work, giving abundant evidence of genius of the very highest" yet Doré "was compelled to invent where his sole business was to copy."¹¹⁴ The reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* observed that "The 'get-up' of the part is perfect, there are some beautiful examples of the wood-engraver's art, and, setting aside the falsity of the representation, some very artistic effects of light and shade" but that the book was "in essential respects a comparative failure."¹¹⁵ The illustrations did not appeal to the Victorian taste for strict Realism, even though it was in a Realist mode.¹¹⁶ His obituarist in *The Times* wrote: "It is to be noted, however, that Doré, though he studied England closely, never quite entered into the spirit of English things, and his illustrations to his friend Blanchard Jerrold's 'London' were hardly a success."¹¹⁷ The reviewer for the *Westminster Review* was even more critical, accusing Doré of producing illustrations where "the commonest, the vulgarest external features are set down with an unsparing and vigorous hand."¹¹⁸ The reviewer disliked the fact the poverty of the city was represented and also that a Frenchman would do this.¹¹⁹

Doré's illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage* were included in the French publication *Londres*, which featured a text by Louis Enault and was published by Hachette in 1875. Louis Enault was the pseudonym of Louis de Vernon (1824-1900). Enault worked for *Le Nord*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Gazette de France*, *Pays*, *La France*, *Le Figaro*, *L' Illustration*, *La Correspondance Littéraire*, *La Revue Contemporaine*, *La Revue Française*, *La Revue de France*. He also wrote various travel books on Belgium, Constantinople, Turkey and

¹¹³ See Chapter Four for more on the reception of the book.

¹¹⁴ *Art Journal*, February 1873, p. 64.

¹¹⁵ *Illustrated London News*, n 1687, v LX, Saturday 6 January, 1872, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Two for more on this subject.

¹¹⁷ *The Times*, n 30723, Thursday 25 January, 1883, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ *Westminster Review*, January – April 1873, pp. 340-41.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter Four for more on the critical reception of the work.

Norway.¹²⁰ Enault's text for London was a more straightforward topographical and historical account, and did not share the novel-like elements of Jerrold's text. Doré's illustrative work had always been popular in France, so it would have made sense to publish it there. However, Jerrold was upset that his text was replaced by Enault's, writing:

I was roused to write a formal protest when I found that he had issued a French edition of our London discarding my text, and putting M. Louis Enault in my place. It was an unhandsome action, and it parted us for a year. To Doré's honour, be it said, he was the first to take a step towards a reconciliation.¹²¹

There were also editions published in America, though these included Jerrold's text rather than Enault's.¹²² Doré's book thus had a much wider audience than *Paris and its Environs*.

In the twenty-first century, Doré's *London: A Pilgrimage* continues to attract scholarly attention. As Alan Wood writes, "Doré's image of Victorian London is becoming our own; and his engravings are familiar to many who have never heard his name."¹²³ The illustrations have been reproduced in numerous history books and documentary films on the period. The book has also been reprinted, the most recent edition appearing in 2005.¹²⁴ *Paris and its Environs*, on the other hand, has never been reprinted since its initial publication. It is also largely unremembered in the field of research in illustration. *The Microcosm of London* is the publication by Pugin that has received more scholarly attention.¹²⁵ Gustave Doré was a more popular artist, so this may be one of the reasons his work is still in the public consciousness, but it is perhaps because *London: A Pilgrimage* was unlike other publications of the time.

The artists and writers involved in *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* came from very different backgrounds and these influenced their approach to the projects. One of the most obvious differences is that Charles Heath's name is on the cover of *Paris and its Environs*, while the engravers of *London: A Pilgrimage* are not considered to be a significant part of the project. Indeed, due to the popularity of his annuals, Heath was more famous than Pugin, and thus Heath's name would have been a selling point. In both cases the artists were bigger names than the writers. Both publications were aimed at a popular audience, though

¹²⁰ See M. Prevost, Roman D'Amat and H. Tribout de Morembert (eds) *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1982), pp. 1274-1275.

¹²¹ See Blanchard Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, pp. 204-205.

¹²² See *Scribner's Magazine*, v 6, n 6, December, 1889, n. p.

¹²³ Alan Woods, "Doré's London: Art and Evidence," *Art History*, v 1, n 3, September 1978, p. 341.

¹²⁴ *London: A Pilgrimage* (London: Anthem Travel Classics, 2005).

¹²⁵ As previously noted, *The Microcosm of London* is the subject of an analysis by Hill in "Bankers, Bawds and Beau Monde".

by the latter part of the nineteenth century that audience was an even larger one than in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Pugin had lost money and would have hoped to recover some of his losses with his project, while Doré was already so wealthy that he did not need the money, even though *London: A Pilgrimage* was a profitable project. In one way or another, in the production of these publications, each artist may have felt, to a certain extent, pressured by commercial concerns. They were not projects that either Pugin or Doré would necessarily have compared favourably with their previous endeavours. Indeed, *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* are both striking in that they differ from most of the artists' usual output. This issue receives more attention in Chapter Two.



Figure 1.1 *Royal Academy Exhibition, Somerset-House*



Figure 1.2 *Court of Common Pleas*

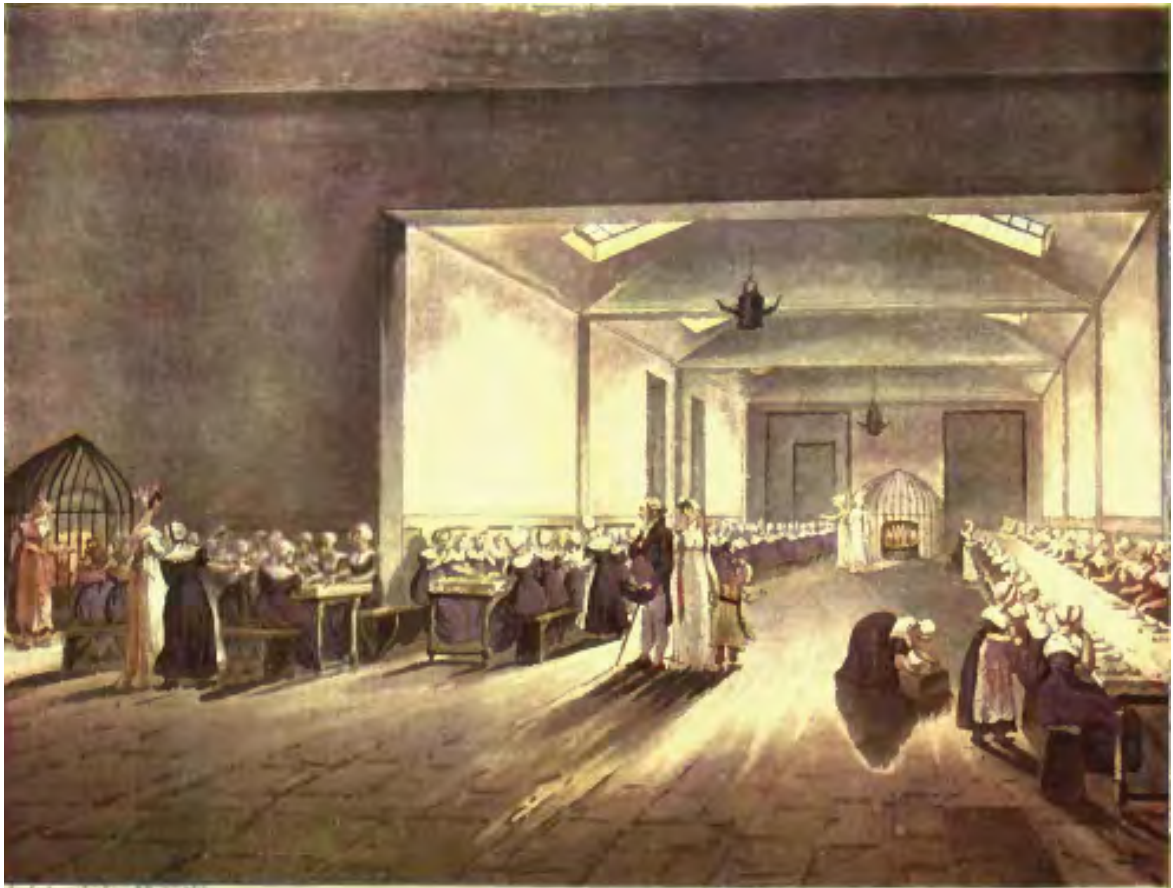


Figure 1.3 Asylum, Dining Hall

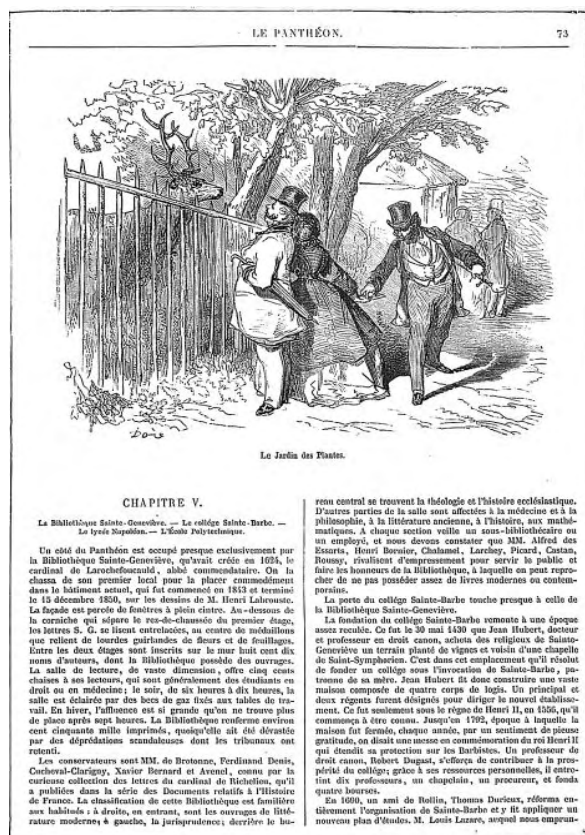


Figure 1.4 Le Jardin des Plantes



CHAPITRE PREMIER

Le IV^e arrondissement est un de ceux qui ont subi le plus de transformations depuis que le gouvernement et la municipalité parisiens ont entrepris de réorganiser la capitale. D'abord, en deux parties distinctes par la Seine, il comprend à la fois un territoire continental, plus de la moitié de l'île de la Cité, et l'île Saint-Louis tout entière. Le signe qui lui sert de frontière est la rue de la Harpe, au nord, et le boulevard Saint-Jacques jusqu'à la rue Rambuteau; et vice versa, jusqu'à la Seine par les rues de Rambuteau, de Paradis, des Francs-Bourgeois, de l'Écluse, du Pas-de-la-Nuile, le boulevard de la Chapelle, de la Chapelle, de la Chapelle, d'abord la partie du IV^e arrondissement qui longe la rive droite de la Seine; puis nous pénétrons dans l'antique Cité, où s'élève le basilique de Notre-Dame de Paris. Nous finirons par l'île Saint-Louis, qui est la partie la plus ancienne de la ville; d'abord les murs sont à part, et qui vit paisiblement à l'abri du tumulte et de l'agitation du centre.

L'effet de la ville devant être celui d'un arrondissement. Nous ne pouvons pas, en effet, nous en occuper à toutes les époques de révolution, le succès n'a-t-il pas dépendu de la

En 1711, on trouva sous le chœur de Notre-Dame de Paris, où l'on creusait un caveau pour la sépulture des archevêques, une pierre sur laquelle on lisait :

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Tous les historiens s'accordent à penser que les marins-ribâtres qui élèveront un astucieux Jupiter, sous le règne de Tibère, étaient organisés en corporations, et que ce sont eux qui ont restitué dans la circulation les monnaies romaines dévaluées par les marchands de l'eau (*mercatores aquae parlensis*). Personne ne pouvait commercer sur la rivière sans leur autorisation, et lorsque naquit le blason, ils choisirent pour emblème un vaisseau d'argent sur un champ de gueules. C'étaient eux qui conféraient le droit de bourgeoisie, et qui répartissaient les impôts entre les habitants. On distinguait les bourgeois juvets, d'après leur affirmation, payaient un droit de suite de deux sels sur leurs meubles et de deux deniers sur leurs meubles immuables :

[illegible]Figure 1.5 *L'omnibus de la Bastille*

Jadis une fille était soustraite à la puissance paternelle dès qu'elle était inscrite sur les registres de l'Académie royale de Musique. Les pourvoyeurs des premiers gentilshommes de la chambre et de leurs aînés rabattaient le gibier féminin à l'Opéra comme dans un parc réservé. De nos jours, une fille mineure qui entrerait sans l'autorisation de ses parents dans les rangs des rats ou des choristes aurait contre elle la magistrature et la loi; mais leur intervention toute-puissante n'est jamais réclamée dans l'espèce; la mère, dont l'ambition est de

« La marcheuse a vingt ou vingt-cinq ans, elle est petite ou grande, toujours grasse, agréable à l'œil, n'apprend rien, ne sait rien, et ne vit pas du théâtre.

« Parmi les amusements favoris du raf, il faut citer la c...

Figure 1.6 *Le déjeuner*



Figure 1.7 *Rotonde, Passage Colbert*



Figure 1.8 *Couple and Two Children Sleeping on a London Bridge*



Figure 1.9 *The New Zealander*

Just published, No. I. of Jennings's Paris, Four Views, price 1s.

PARIS AND ITS ENVIRONS, displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views from Original Drawings, taken expressly for this work, comprising Views on the Seine, Churches, Palaces, Public Offices, Bridges, Aqueducts, Catacombs, Streets, Modern Improvements, &c. &c. The Drawings under the direction of A. Pugin, Esq.; the Engravings under the superintendence of C. Heath, Esq. The work will be published in demy 4to. with descriptions in English and French.

A limited number will be taken off on India paper, price 2s.

London: R. Jennings, 2, Poultry.

Figure 1.10 Advertisement for *Paris and its Environs*

THE HANDSOMEST CHRISTMAS PRESENT
for 1872.

LONDON: a Pilgrimage.

THE GREAT ILLUSTRATED

SERIAL WORK

BY

GUSTAVE DORE

AND

BLANCHARD JERROLD,

IN THIRTEEN MONTHLY PARTS, price 6s.,

IS NOW READY.

IN ONE VOLUME,

HANDSOMELY BOUND,

PRICE £3 10s.

LONDON: a Pilgrimage. By GUSTAVE DORE and BLANCHARD JERROLD. Complete in one handsome volume, containing nearly 300 engravings, drawn on the spot by Gustave Dore, and engraved under his personal superintendence. Price £3 10s. Grant and Co., 72 to 78, Turnmill-street (near Farringdon-road Station), London, E.C., and all booksellers.

LONDON: a Pilgrimage. By GUSTAVE DORE and BLANCHARD JERROLD. Is pronounced by the press to be the most magnificent work of the day. It is exquisitely printed on the finest paper, and beautifully bound in cloth, gilt. Price £3 10s. May also be had in 13 parts, price 6s. each. Order through all book sellers. Grant and Co., 72 to 78, Turnmill-street (near Farringdon-road Station), London, E.C., and all booksellers.

LONDON. Illustrated.

BY GUSTAVE DORE.

THE TEXT by BLANCHARD JERROLD.

LONDON. By Night and Day.

LONDON. At the Opera.

LONDON. At Westminster.

LONDON. At the Docks.

LONDON. At London-bridge.

LONDON. At Rotten-row.

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THE HANDSOMEST CHRISTMAS PRESENT

Figure 1.11 Advertisement for *London: A Pilgrimage*

Chapter Two: Modes of their moments: from the picturesque to the Realist aesthetic

Pugin and Doré shape the cities they are representing to fit their particular aesthetic agendas. The cities of London and Paris seen in their books are not historically accurate portraits of the cities as they actually appeared at the time, but rather how Pugin and Doré saw them. The particular aesthetic modes they chose were those most influential at the times each book was produced. In the case of Pugin, this was the picturesque mode and in the case of Doré, the Realist mode, though neither artist entirely followed the conventions of their chosen style. Instead, they modified the pictorial strategies associated with each style to fit their particular artistic agenda. In this chapter, I shall begin by looking at the nature of the picturesque and the Realist modes, before examining how *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* adhere to or go against the characteristics of each mode. I shall then move on to a close aesthetic comparison of the two illustrators' work. I shall examine such topics as their chosen subject matter, degrees of idealization and accuracy, line and drawing style, shading and atmosphere, creation of space, proportions and scale, point of view, the arrangement of image and text on the page and also the stylistic features of each mode. This will allow conclusions to be drawn about how well suited the aesthetic mode of the illustrations was to the particular intentions of the two publications.

The picturesque was a significant term at the time Pugin produced *Paris and its Environs*. Indeed, the style is indicated in the subtitle of the book: “a series of picturesque views.” Thus, from the outset, Pugin is clear about his intentions. As an aesthetic mode, the picturesque reflected the eighteenth century Enlightenment optimism that science, reason and technology could help people make sense of the world. The picturesque aesthetic had emerged late in the eighteenth century and was explained by a number of theorists. One of the first of these was William Gilpin, who wrote that “Roughness forms the most essential point of difference between the *beautiful*, and the *picturesque*”.¹ Uvedale Price wrote that in its most popular sense the word picturesque was “applied to every object, and every kind of scenery, which has been or might be represented with good effect in painting.”² Price listed the particular characteristics of roughness, sudden variation and ideas of age and decay.³

¹ William Gilpin, “Essay 1: On Picturesque Beauty,” in *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (London: R. Blamire, 1794), p. 6.

² Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape*. Vol. 1 (London: J. Mawman, 1810), p. 37.

³ Ibid, pp. 68-69.

Pugin himself expressed his ideas on the picturesque in a letter to a client when he was working for John Nash. He wrote of how “beautifully the strait uniformity of the horizon is broken and relieved by the picturesque irregularity of outline.”⁴ However, the theorizing of Gilpin and Price related to representations of the countryside rather than cityscapes.

Early in the nineteenth century the term picturesque came to be widely used to describe the pictorial style of illustrated books of views both of the country and the city. The views included in such books were detailed and pleasant to look at.⁵ As much as the theorists of the picturesque, artists such as *veduta* painter Canaletto and etcher Piranesi are precursors for the work of Pugin and other early nineteenth century artists working in this style.⁶ Some of Canaletto's views were imagined, while others were drawn from nature.⁷ Piranesi's views of the ruins of Rome were often theatrical in their perspective and lighting.⁸ Boullée, known for his visionary architecture, is another possible influence. He admired “the greatness of Roman architecture as well as the Gothic principles of lighting and structure.”⁹ As I indicated in Chapter One, a large number of illustrated books in the picturesque mode were produced by Rudolph Ackermann and Charles Heath. Their works were the most characteristic and most popular. The picturesque was very fashionable and “Ackermann's readers were the art conscious middle class who had been inspired by the cult of the picturesque and the cult of the Grecian.”¹⁰ The picturesque was thus linked to an interest in antiquities as well as the modern. Artists represented the historical architecture of their own and other cities and for Pugin this meant buildings in the Gothic style.¹¹ Picturesque views were not restricted to antique buildings; at this time modern developments were just as acceptable as picturesque

⁴ Pugin, quoted in Hill, *God's Architect*, pp.18-19. Source PC 339/315. Letters in a private collection, available on microfilm in the House of Lords Record Office, HOLRO 339.

⁵ As Ronald Russell in *Guide to British Topographical Prints* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1979), p. 121, writes: “the emphasis was shifting to the accurate, detailed view, no longer necessarily framed in foliage or deliberately roughed up.”

⁶ Donald J. Gray in “Views and Sketches of London in the Nineteenth Century” in Ira Bruce Nadel, F. S. Schwarzbach (eds), *Victorian Artists and the City* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 43, suggests that the views contained in publications such as these belong to the tradition of *veduta*: “well-drawn, smoothly lighted paintings and engravings that offered eighteenth and nineteenth century collectors faithful and pleasant views of interesting places”.

⁷ Peter Murray, *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 13.

⁸ See *ibid*, pp. 20-25.

⁹ Helen Rousenau, *Boullée and Visionary Architecture* (London and New York: Academy Editions, 1976), p. 9.

¹⁰ Simon Houfe, *The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists 1800-1914* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1996), p. 16.

¹¹ A. C. Pugin's works on Gothic architecture were a large influence on his son Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's ideas.

subjects.¹² In Pugin's views, a close attention to architectural details is shown and the resulting scenes are attractive and pleasing. The picturesque was a mode appropriate for Pugin's aim: the celebration of the city.

By the time Doré produced *London: A Pilgrimage*, the Realist style was the most prominent in both French and British art. Realism was more of a self-conscious art movement than the picturesque. In its concerns, Realism reflected the political and social instability of the time and the changes brought about by the industrial revolution. In France, artists such as Gustave Courbet and Francois Millet had inaugurated the Realist art movement in the 1850's. Typically, artists who worked in the Realist mode took their subjects from contemporary life rather than history and worked across a variety of genres including portraits and landscapes. In their work, figures and places were given individual characteristics.¹³ Realism also made its way into English art. Some of the first of these were the genre scenes of William Frith and Richard Redgrave and the first wave of Pre-Raphaelitism. These works often dealt with contemporary social themes.¹⁴ As well as being the favoured mode for painting, Realism became prevalent in illustration. It was in 1869, the year that Doré and Jerrold began work on *London: A Pilgrimage*, that the weekly illustrated paper *The Graphic* was established. This publication reflected the concern for representing scenes from everyday life and the engagement with social concerns apparent in much British art at this time.¹⁵ The illustrations which appeared in *The Graphic* and similar publications were documentary, chronicling contemporary life. For instance, they dealt with such themes as the pollution of the river Thames and the expansion of the railways. This is, clearly, also the case with Doré's illustrations in that they represent the range of London life, though his concerns are different to those of the English illustrators. As well as representations of subjects from contemporary life, modernity was another influence on Doré's style. This was evident from his desire to capture a city undergoing rapid change. In "The Painter of Modern Life," Charles Baudelaire wrote: "Modernity is the transient, the fleeting, the contingent; it is one half of art, the other being the eternal and the immovable. There was a form of modernity

¹² As Houfe notes, "industry had its own sumptuous volumes," p. 45.

¹³ See Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition. French Painting and Drawing. 1830-1900* (Cleveland: Indiana University Press, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), p. 1.

¹⁴ As Julian Treuherz in *Hard Times. Social Realism in Victorian Art* (London: Lund Humphries in association with Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987), p. 9, writes: "Realism was an art which sought not just to represent things naturalistically, but to depict the lowly and commonplace, correcting the historical bias in art towards the grand and spectacular; and social realism sought to do both in relation to modern social problem."

¹⁵ See Ira Bruce Nadel, "Gustave Doré: English Art and London Life" in *Victorian Artists and the City*, p. 157.

for every painter of the past; the majority of the fine portraits that remain to us from former times are clothed in the dress of their own day.”¹⁶ As I previously suggested, the modern artist was the figure of the *flâneur*, observing the life of the city from within it. This was quite different to the leisurely and distant perspective adopted by artists of the picturesque.

Doré was interested in capturing the extremes of London life and depicting a city in motion. At the same time he was also accused of straying from the realities of London life. A reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* asserted that “M. Doré is too confirmed a mannerist and idealist. He has too exclusive a relish for the sensational. He indulges too licentiously in the grotesque.”¹⁷ As I shall discuss in Chapter Four, this view of Doré’s work was prejudicial, stemming from the fact that Doré was a French artist representing an English subject.¹⁸ Doré’s adherence to Realist ideas is tempered by an exaggeration and an imaginative quality which owes much to his previous illustrations of subjects from fiction. He is never interested in adhering strictly to the facts, but rather in creating a correct general impression. Some recent critics hold the same opinion as many of Doré’s contemporaries, suggesting that Doré’s illustrations cannot be considered accurate documents of life in London at that time.¹⁹ Other recent writers such as Ira Bruce Nadel make the interesting suggestion that “by refusing to draw the city as it stood before him he was being true to the experience of urban life which was constantly changing.”²⁰ This seems to be an appropriate judgement of Doré’s relation to Realism. Jerrold himself provided a defence against accusations of inaccuracy: “During our planning, I cited Isaac Disraeli, on local descriptions: ‘The great art, perhaps, of local description, is rather a general than a particular view; the details must be left to the imagination; it is suggestive rather than descriptive.’”²¹ In any case, the Realist mode was appropriate for Doré’s aim, this being the representation of a confusing city, which contained some aspects he admired and others of which he was critical.

A consideration of their subject matter reveals how Pugin’s illustrations for *Paris and its Environs* relate to the picturesque mode. This will highlight both what is picturesque in the book and what is not picturesque. Pugin illustrates many things which were characteristic of

¹⁶ Charles Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” p. 403.

¹⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 6 January, 1872, p. 18.

¹⁸ As I suggested in Chapter One, this was also one of the things that made the publication so interesting to its readers.

¹⁹ For example, Alan Woods in “Doré’s London: Art and Evidence”, *Art History*, v 1, n 3, September, 1978, p. 345, suggests: “we can no longer look to the illustrations for an equivalent of photographic realism.”

²⁰ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Gustave Doré: English Art and London Life,” p. 153.

²¹ Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. vi.

the picturesque. William Gilpin defined the subjects favoured as picturesque: “among all the objects of art, the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles, and abbeys.”²² These subjects are all treated by Pugin in *Paris and its Environs*, but he also treats buildings which are architecturally interesting and in a good state of repair. An example of this is in his illustrations of Notre Dame, which demonstrate his interest in the Gothic style in architecture. The Gothic in particular was mentioned by Gilpin, though Pugin also favours the classical in his illustrations. The illustration *Intérieur de Notre Dame* (Figure 2.1) depicts, in close detail, the building's arched ceiling, its stained glass windows, tiled floor and ornately carved altar.²³ The church is very much in use, as is shown by the presence of the priest and visitors. This illustration suggests that past achievements in art are closely linked to the present day life of the city. Pugin's taste for the picturesque is thus tempered by a wish to depict modern life in Paris. He does depict older buildings showing signs of decay. An example of this is *Eglise de Montmartre* (Figure 2.2). This illustration combines the picturesque with the pastoral. That Pugin does not ignore progress is evident from his depictions of smoke rising from one of the chimneys and a telegraph apparatus on the roof. Ventouillac notes that this telegraph connects to Calais.²⁴ The most striking examples of Pugin's engagement with the picturesque are in his illustrations of the monuments at the Père Lachaise cemetery. In *Monument d'Abélard et d'Héloïse, Père Lachaise* (Figure 2.3), the elaborate monument and the greenery surrounding it provide a picturesque setting.²⁵ The suggestion of decay and frailty is prominent in his depiction of the monument with its delicate and intricate ornamentation. Ventouillac discusses the history of the monument and describes Abelard and Heloise as “ill-fated lovers.” Their story would have been well known to readers and its suggestion would have increased their identification with the scene. Despite the drama of the story, the young couple in the foreground behave in a sedate and refined manner, in keeping with the characteristics of the picturesque.

While Pugin depicts familiar picturesque elements in his illustrations, he goes further than that in his wish to show the capital as a progressive and prosperous place, and to show the range of life in the city. A subject which is far from what was traditionally considered

²² William Gilpin, p. 46.

²³ See also *West Front of the Church of Notre Dame, Paris and its Environs* facing p. 5, *L'Eglise de Notre Dame, Vers l'Orient*, facing p. 65 and *Notre Dame (Vue du Midi)*, facing p. 69.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 37.

²⁵ See also *Monument, Père Lachaise*, Ibid, facing p. 105.

picturesque is *Abattoir at Montmartre* (Figure 2.4). Pugin does not depict an actual slaughter in this scene, but the cows and sheep being herded up. This illustration reveals how new developments in the city were celebrated by Pugin as much as traditional ruins and buildings. In this case, the abattoir is shown to be a useful establishment, which keeps a necessary, if not elegant, part of the life of the city contained in one area. Here, it is the treatment of the scene, in terms of its composition and detailing which makes it picturesque rather than the actual subject.²⁶ The buildings are arranged in even lines and Pugin includes a windmill on the horizon line to add picturesque interest. The picturesque mode allowed him to depict what could be an unpleasant scene from a distance, retaining a certain focus on the sky and the expansive landscape. The resulting scene would have been acceptable to his audience.

A consideration of their subject matter reveals how Doré's illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage* relate to the Realist style while at times also venturing closer to the picturesque. In the text, Jerrold hastens to assure the reader: "We are not prone to the picturesque side of anything. We seldom pause to contemplate the proportions of St. Paul's, the grandeur of the Abbey, the beauty of the new bridge at Westminster."²⁷ This suggests that Doré and Jerrold's subjects in *London: A Pilgrimage* will extend beyond what was considered picturesque. Jerrold sets the book up as something quite different from an investigation of the picturesque aspects of the city. Yet, on the same page, he describes the journey depicted in *London: A Pilgrimage* as: "Our excursions in quest of the picturesque and the typical."²⁸ He goes on to state that he and Doré have "selected the most striking types, the most completely representative scenes, and the most picturesque features of the greatest city on the face of the globe."²⁹ This mention of the "typical" and the "representative" suggests that, for Jerrold and Doré, the picturesque can be something from everyday life. Thus, a slum building may be as picturesque as an example of fine architecture. A ragged costume may be as picturesque as an elegant suit or dress. Though Jerrold and Doré mention the "typical" and the "most striking types," these are not always the most common everyday scenes or people. Doré, in particular, focuses on the unusual and exaggerates its distinguishing features.³⁰ The scenes of London's streets are an example of Doré's treatment of subjects from the everyday life of the city. An example of this is *Bishopsgate Street* (Figure 2.5) where nothing alarming or exaggerated is

²⁶ I shall discuss Pugin's pictorial strategies later in this chapter.

²⁷ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 2.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p. xi.

³⁰ I shall focus on his taste for melodrama in Chapter Five.

included in the scene. Instead it depicts the routine life of the streets. Another example is *The Devil's Acre – Westminster* (Figure 2.6). It depicts Westminster in the background, but Doré devotes his attention to the row of crumbling slum dwellings in the foreground. In contrast to the abbey, these buildings look uninviting and run down. Here, Doré shows an interest in contrasting architectural forms. He is as willing to depict the ordinary places where people live as he is to show impressive public structures.

Doré does, however, present scenes of picturesque architecture in a straightforward way, thus contradicting Jerrold's comments. An example of this is *Westminster – The Round of the Abbey* (Figure 2.7). In its refinement, this scene is very similar to Pugin's illustration of Notre Dame. Doré depicts, in detail, the carved ceiling, statues and mouldings. Like Pugin, Doré also pictures a priest guiding several adults and children around the abbey. His treatment of the subject thus bears similarities to Pugin's. A slightly different treatment is in *The Fountain – Broad Sanctuary* (Figure 2.8) In this illustration, the figures run for shelter from the rain. The scene is thus picturesque, but concerned with movement and representing the bustling life of the city. Another manifestation of the picturesque, in Doré, is in his illustration of the traveller in *The New Zealander* (Figure 5.22) which I consider an example of the picturesque.³¹ A robed figure contemplates the ruins of London from a rocky outcrop. Holding a sketchbook and drawing instrument, this figure could be an artist in search of the picturesque. The city here looks more ruined than anything in *Paris and its Environs*. Arguably, therefore, Doré goes further in his suggestion of decay. The difference from Pugin, is that in a scene such as this, Doré seems more self-aware of the status of the picturesque as an aesthetic construction and thus amenable to individual artistic interpretation and reformulation.

As well as considering the subject matter, it is also necessary to consider the question of accuracy to determine how *Paris and its Environs* fits into the picturesque mode. There is a tension in the illustrations between the real and the ideal, fact and fiction. Pugin chooses to ignore certain aspects of the life of the city which he feels are not congenial to the vision of Paris he wishes to present in these illustrations. For instance, his Paris is never overtly dirty or crowded.³² In the illustration *Rue de Rivoli* (Figure 2.9), Pugin depicts two upper class figures travelling in a horse-drawn carriage. Though supposedly in motion, the horses look

³¹ I shall discuss the historical implications of the character in Chapter Five.

³² See Chapter Three and also Chapter Four. I shall discuss Pugin's pictorial strategies later in this chapter.

very static. The lack of dynamism in an illustration such as this adds to the idea of Paris as a slow-paced and stable city. It is also likely that the road would have been much more crowded in real life. To draw a viewer's attention to the features he wishes to accentuate, Pugin tends to remove certain objects from a scene. However, there are times when he does display an accuracy to detail. An example of this is in *L' Eglise de St. Eustache* (Figure 2.10), where he depicts a church in the midst of repairs. The workers, standing on a scaffolding, obscure the view of the facade. In addition to this, parts of the building appear to be run down. A scene like this suggests that, though Pugin was often imprecise in his inclusion or exclusion of details, there are times when he shows an attention to detail and depicts the city as it really appears. In other words, Pugin presents images of Paris that are more than picturesque conceptions.

The question of accuracy also informs considerations of how *London: A Pilgrimage* fits into the Realist mode. As was the case with Pugin, in Doré's illustrations there is a tension between the real and the ideal, fact and fiction. Doré does not represent London in a historically accurate way. He tends to exaggerate certain aspects of the life of the city and fabricate others.³³ Accuracy may have been one of the characteristics of Realism, but according to Baudelaire, the depiction of modernity allowed a certain amount of exaggeration and artistic license to create a representation closer to life than the strictly accurate. As Baudelaire wrote: "all true draughtsmen draw from the image imprinted in their brain and not from nature."³⁴ This is certainly Doré's approach to his subjects in many of his illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage*. As I pointed out in Chapter One, he never made detailed drawings on his trips with Jerrold around London, but rather quick sketches of the main points of a scene, filling in the rest from his imagination. An example of a scene which is not accurate in its detail, but is perhaps more realistic because of it, is *The Derby – Tattenham Corner* (Figure 2.11).³⁵ This illustration is mentioned by Jerrold in his biography of Doré as an example of the inaccuracies which were often present in his work: "The consequence of this reliance on his memory was that there were many blunders, in detail, in his work. Besides giving Norman arches to London Bridge, he made at least fifty horses run for the Derby!"³⁶ There are at least forty-six horses visible in the actual illustration. There appear to be

³³ As Alan Woods (p. 343), suggests, at times Doré displays "not merely a disregard for, but an actual hostility to detail."

³⁴ Baudelaire, p. 407.

³⁵ See also *The Winner, London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 75 and *The Derby – Finish of the Race*, facing p. 76.

³⁶ Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré*, p. 154.

thousands of figures in the crowd, which appears as a sketchy line drawing. Where Pugin removed things to idealize a scene, in this illustration Doré adds to it. The large number of horses make the scene much more dramatic. Doré is able to render their speed by creating a swift recession into space. This trick of perspective creates the illusion of rapid movement. He also represents clouds of dust flying around them. Though the background of the scene is generalized, he does focus on the detail of a rider who has fallen on the ground in the foreground. This gives the scene a narrative which may have occurred in real life. Another example of Doré creating a scene which is more imagined than real is *A House of Refuge – In the Bath* (Figure 2.12). Alan Woods suggests that the figures in this illustration “bear little relation to the coughing inhabitants of the workhouse actually described by Jerrold, with ‘chests turned to rags’ and ‘feeble, feverish limbs.’ They are, rather, examples of the sort of Michelangelesque figures so prominent in the *Inferno*.”³⁷ This is a fair comment as the figures in the bath do appear physically vigorous and have well toned muscles. Nevertheless, the figure in the foreground has a less muscular chest and what appears to be an injured arm. Doré generates an effective contrast between the figures and is thus able to draw the viewer's attention to the print's primary focus. Exaggeration and imagination allow Doré to create a representation of the city which is perhaps more true to its character than if he was strictly accurate in the details. He manages to capture the speed and confusion of life in London at the time, with all its manifold contrasts.

A comparison of the pictorial strategies of each artist is also revealing. Pugin and Doré treat their figures quite differently. In *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin always views the figures from a distance and there are no proximate depictions of any individual figure. They come as ‘staffage,’ a staple of the picturesque. William Gilpin's theory on the inclusion of figures in a picturesque composition sums this up: “In the human figure we contemplate neither exactness of form; nor expression, any farther than it is shown in action: we merely consider general shapes, dresses, groups, and occupations; which we often find casually in greater variety, and beauty, than any selection can procure.”³⁸ In landscapes by artists such as Turner the figures were always small and mainly intended to add scale and a human presence to the scene. This is also characteristic of many steel-engraved books in the picturesque mode. Pugin's use of this picturesque stylistic trait suits his intention of presenting a unified view of

³⁷ Woods, p. 345. I shall discuss the relation of Doré's illustrations for the *Inferno* to *London: A Pilgrimage* in Chapter Five.

³⁸ Gilpin, pp. 44-45.

Paris. The figures are seen as part of the city and as active participants in its activities. Clothing identifies them as members of a particular class. A representative example is *Hôtel de Cluny* (Figure 2.13) where the lower class figures wear plain clothing and the upper class ones wear more ornately finished costumes. Over the course of the book, Pugin shows types of people rather than individuals and often arranges them in a strict formation. Pugin is more interested in composition than the figures themselves and the result is that their poses often seem stiff and unnatural. A characteristic example of this is in the illustration *Rue Castiglione (Qui donne vers la Place Vendôme)* (Figure 2.14), where the figures of soldiers are arranged in a sharp line against the angle of the large building on the left. The other figures in the illustration are scattered around the composition. In this way, Pugin's treatment of the figure fits into the picturesque concern for arrangement and the surface of things. It also means he does not need to focus on the relationships between classes, as I shall consider in Chapter Three.

Doré's treatment of figures in *London: A Pilgrimage* is quite different. While Doré often depicts figures in groups and shows a particular interest in the size of London crowds (for example those at the boat race and Derby), in other cases he depicts figures in isolation. Similarly to Pugin, the costumes of the figures suggest their class. The difference is that Doré finds gradations within a class. Doré's figures also have more natural poses than Pugin's, but this is characteristic of the media and their scale. This is particularly apparent in the vignettes of individuals scattered throughout the book.³⁹ An example of this is *The Fly Paper Merchant* (Figure 2.15), which depicts an elderly man selling his wares. His features are closely observed by Doré. These figures are given character and are shown to be individuals with differences of features and clothing. Henry Mayhew's representation of street vendors in *London Labour and the London Poor* may have influenced Doré's decision to depict these figures.⁴⁰ Mayhew wrote about the variety of street vendors, costermongers, and others who worked for a living on the streets of London. To him, these people are divided into groups, but retain their own eccentricities. Many of them are shown in the small wood engravings which accompany Mayhew's text. Doré does not include these figures merely as curiosities or objects of pity. He uses them to show the variety of people who live in the city. As Alan Woods suggests: "Doré's characters are not set up as objects of pity, so that the picture can

³⁹ See Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

⁴⁰ See Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1849). This publication receives further attention in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four I shall discuss Gavarni's street vendors and London types.

only be completed by the viewer's compassion . . . They are, on the contrary, involved in doing something.”⁴¹ Because the lower class figures, in particular, are engaged in activities and seen in their own environments they are active and not merely there to be looked at. The figures in Doré's illustrations could also be compared to those in a Realist painting such as Gustave Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (1849-50), where each figure is a portrait of a specific person. They all have some characteristic feature which makes them an individual. Woods does, however, draw attention to the Victorian concept of the picturesque, which could be found in depictions of the poorer quarters of a city, and how an artist could focus on “the attractive nature of rags in sunlight.”⁴² This tendency is illustrated in *A Flower Girl* (Figure 2.16). The woman in this illustration is more romanticized than the many depictions of men. She is dressed in a ragged, patched shawl, which is draped for expressive effect. She could be a country peasant rather than an urban dweller. However, an illustration such as this is the exception rather than the rule with Doré. In general, his figures are characteristic of the Realist style rather than the picturesque in that they are viewed as individuals with their own characteristics. Doré focuses on particulars and differences rather than trying to summarize to create a unified, picturesque view. This is in line with the enquiring nature of Doré's representation of London life.

The particular artistic effects used by Pugin and Doré are also very different. To a certain extent, they are characteristic of the difference between the possibilities offered by steel and wood engraving, but they are also choices which are in line with the picturesque and Realist aesthetics. In *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin displays a sharp and measured drawing style. It is detailed and descriptive. This allows him to clearly define the architectural details of the buildings and monuments he represents. All of the illustrations in the book evince this style, but it will suffice to consider one illustration as an example. *West Front of the Church of Notre Dame* (Figure 2.17) is a close view of one side of the church. Pugin clearly delineates every detail of the building with photographic accuracy. The ornamental mouldings and the finishings of the windows are precisely delineated. The lines are carefully measured and the building is in proportion. Pugin makes accurate use of perspective and depth. These characteristics would have all come from his previous works such as those he produced for *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*. While pictorially interesting, this illustration still retains the accuracy of the line drawings which Pugin made in his books on

⁴¹ Woods, p. 355.

⁴² Ibid, p. 354.

architecture. Pugin's use of light and shade is another aspect of his artistic style. His illustrations are generally characterized by a bright, even light. A reviewer for the *Athenaeum* spoke well of Pugin's views of the Seine in the first part of *Paris and its Environs*, observing that "The clearness, brilliancy, and sunny effect of the first especially is beyond all praise."⁴³ An example of this is *Pont des Arts from the Pont Royal* (Figure 2.18). The sky appears very light and includes some stylized rays of sunlight. The sun reflects on the river, which is created by black lines varying in width and distance from each other, and is very calm. A contrasting scene is *La Morgue, Quai Notre Dame* (Figure 2.19). In its atmosphere, it is the darkest scene in the book, the opposite of the river scene. Pugin chooses to dramatically light the dark sky and is less interested in imitating physical reality than in creating scenes which allow different artistic effects. Pugin uses his artistic style to contribute to his vision of the city. Sunny views would have appealed to tourists, while dramatic ones would have been awe inspiring and equally appealing. The accuracy of the drawings also helps to make his view of the city seem calmly authoritative and convincing.

The artistic style Doré employs in *London: A Pilgrimage* is very different from Pugin's. Doré displays a much sketchier and freer drawing style than Pugin. Doré's style is often detailed, yet at other times quite generalized. This allows him to evoke a scene as much as describe it. In "The Painter of Modern Life," Baudelaire's description of Constantin Guys' drawing style very much evokes Doré's:

M. G., faithful interpreter of his own impressions, notes with instinctive vigour the culminating features or highlights of an object (they can be culminating or luminous from a dramatic point of view) or its main characteristics, sometimes even with a degree of exaggeration useful to human memory; and the imagination, of the viewer, undergoing in its turn the influence of this imperious code, conjures up in clean outline the impression produced by objects on the mind of M. G. In this case, the viewer becomes the translator of a translation, which is always clear and always intoxicating.⁴⁴

An example which demonstrates this sketchy, free style of drawing is *The Derby – At Lunch* (Figure 2.20). The lines of the figures in the foreground are very loose, curved and rounded where Pugin's tend to be straight. Doré suggests shade from loosely cross-hatched areas. The style of many of these woodcuts is also characteristic of the engravers, in this case Jonnard. The lines become even looser and more generalized in the background. The buildings and people appear as outlines and scribbles. At other times, the style is more detailed and accurate. An example is *Brewer's Men* (Figure 2.21), where the details of the machinery of

⁴³ *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, n 46, Wednesday 10 September, 1828, p. 726.

⁴⁴ Baudelaire, pp. 406-407.

the brewery are sharply defined. Doré creates atmospheres which are more extreme than any in Pugin's illustrations. It is some of the scenes of the docks and the slums of the East End which are the darkest in the book. The lighting of these scenes is much darker than it was in reality at the time.⁴⁵ The often theatrical atmospheres add to the drama of the scenes and heighten their uneasy mood. The illustration *Hayboats on the Thames* (Figure 2.22) is one of Doré's most atmospheric in the book.⁴⁶ He imbues the scene with a spectral quality, creating a contrast between the light of the moon and its reflection on the dark water. The series of masts in the background all appear very faint through the misty atmosphere. Francoise Martin makes the interesting observation that the figures of the poor are always represented in the shadows, while the upper classes are depicted in the sunlight.⁴⁷ An example of the darkness of tone Doré achieves is in *Bluegate Fields* (Figure 2.23). The entire scene is very dark with only a small lamp providing any light. The atmosphere adds to the hostile feeling created by the people. A contrast to this is the lightness of a scene such as *Croquet* (Figure 2.24). The entire scene is very pale with numerous white highlights including the moon. The figures appear light and insubstantial. Doré thus uses atmosphere to emphasize his themes even more than Pugin does.

The compositions of Pugin's illustrations are always strictly ordered. He uses the same compositions throughout the book for different subjects, always creating wide open spaces. This gives the illustrations a surface uniformity. They are either in landscape or portrait format and are always the same size.⁴⁸ These sweeping views of landscapes or city scenes were characteristic of the picturesque, but also anticipate the future organization of Paris. From the time of the July Monarchy, efforts were made by officials to restructure the city. These culminated in the work of Haussmann during the Second Empire.⁴⁹ As Pugin's buildings are always accurate in their perspective and depth, so too are his compositions as a whole. A good example of this is in the aforementioned scene *Pont des Arts from the Pont Royal* (Figure 2.18). The bridge itself is shown at the halfway point of the composition. Pugin

⁴⁵ Woods (p. 350) observes that contemporary photographs of the East End are much more brightly illuminated than Doré's illustrations.

⁴⁶ See also *House of Parliament by Night, London: A Pilgrimage* p. 16, *Between Bridges* and *Victoria Embankment*, p. 33 and *Under the Arches*, p. 185.

⁴⁷ Francoise Martin, "L'Image de Londres chez Dickens et Gustave Doré", *Cahiers Victoriens et Edouardiens: Revue du centre d' Etudes et de Recherches Victoriennes et Edouardiennes de l' Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier*, 1988, p. 27.

⁴⁸ The size of the illustrations is common to the plates used for steel-engraved views, however, and is not specific to Pugin.

⁴⁹ See David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. 8.

achieves balance by showing the sky above and the water below it in equal proportions. A row of buildings begins in each front corner and recedes towards the bridge. The composition thus feels stable and grounded. This was appropriate to Pugin's conception of Paris as a place of order and stability. The overall mood of calm, which Pugin creates, also complements his idealization of the city and enhances its tourist appeal.⁵⁰ Another example of Pugin's compositions can be seen in the numerous courtyard scenes in the book: a representative one is *Court of the Louvre* (Figure 2.25). Here, the building is placed in the centre of the composition, receding from either side to a central point. The figures are arranged harmoniously and even the clouds in the sky follow the lines of the building. Again, there is a balance between the ground and sky, and a sense of calm and stillness.

Another important aspect of Pugin's compositions is the proportion and scale of the objects he depicts. Often, buildings fill the frame and are seen in their entirety. An example of this is the aforementioned *West Front of the Church of Notre Dame* (Figure 2.17). Pugin centres the building in the middle of the composition. This emphasizes the building's structural details and shows off the achievements of the city's architects. Pugin chooses the most flattering angle of this and the other buildings he represents. Perhaps the most consistent feature of Pugin's compositions is their viewpoint, which is never close. The viewer seems to be positioned at great remove from the scene pictured. In *Menagerie, Jardin des Plantes* (Figure 2.26), the viewer sees the scene from a distance, sharing the same viewpoint as the fashionably dressed crowd looking in at the animals in their cage. The viewer does not appear to be part of the action. Again, in *Académie Royale de Musique* (Figure 2.27), the viewers looking at Pugin's print share the viewpoint of the people in the audience. These viewpoints allow Pugin to display his subject matter to picturesque effect. The tendency of the picturesque style to present unified scenes results in a pictorial summary of the city, where the society, architecture and environs are displayed for the edification of the viewers of such images.

The compositions of Doré's illustrations are much more dynamic and varied than Pugin's. He does not have stock compositions which he repeats from subject to subject; instead, he chooses different pictorial layouts to emphasize the striking features of his particular subjects. Doré sometimes creates open spaces, while at other times he creates enclosed spaces. The

⁵⁰ See Chapter Five.

latter are more prominent. The difference in the representation of city spaces in Doré and Pugin's compositions is related to differences between London and Paris at the time each was depicted as much as the aesthetic modes dominant in either epoch. London in 1869 was not organized on the same strict lines as Paris, and as such would have appeared particularly disordered to French people like Doré. Martin observes that, in *London: A Pilgrimage*, the poor are always represented in constricted spaces, while the upper classes are depicted in the open.⁵¹ This is a good example of Doré's aesthetic choices echoing the social concerns he wished to highlight. Where Pugin's compositions are always stable and grounded, Doré exaggerates the perspective of various scenes to give an effect of movement or danger. The objects Doré depicts are also often angled dynamically within the picture plane. An example of this is in the scene *A City Thoroughfare* (Figure 2.28).⁵² In this illustration, the buildings and the street rise on a sharp angle to the top of the picture frame. This exaggeration of perspective gives a viewer a feeling of the steepness of the street.⁵³ The crowds of people add to the closeness of the composition. It is not stable and expansive like those of Pugin. Another example is *London Bridge, 1872* (Figure 2.29). Instead of always showing bridges as straight lines like Pugin, Doré shows the curve of the bridge from one side of the composition to the other. Doré also crops the bridge at the side, which accentuates its length. The angle gives the scene a feeling of upward movement. With his inclusion of many people and vehicles, Doré manages to capture the frenetic pace of life in London at this time.

Another key aspect of Doré's compositions is the proportion and scale of the objects he depicts. Doré does not display the same accuracy in measurement and scale as Pugin, nor does he always represent subjects in their entirety. He often focuses on a particular section of a building, characteristic of the way he often focuses on fragments rather than wholes. An example of this is *Tower of London* (Figure 2.30) which is not a sweeping panoramic view of a building as are those in Pugin's book.⁵⁴ Instead Doré chooses to zoom in on the roof of the tower, cutting off the rest. The decision to show only the roof gives a viewer an impression of its height. Just as much as Pugin, Doré manipulates the view for effect, though in this case Doré's pictorial strategies are more in keeping with the aesthetics of the Realist style than those of the picturesque. However, Doré differs from Pugin in not always showing his

⁵¹ Martin, p. 27.

⁵² See also *Ludgate Hill, London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. 118.

⁵³ Ira Bruce Nadel in "Gustave Doré: English Art and London Life" (pp. 154-155), compares these street scenes to a contemporary photograph to show how Doré exaggerates the steepness of the streets and the angles of certain buildings.

⁵⁴ See also *Victoria Tower, London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 7.

subjects from their best angle. In *St. Paul's from the Brewery Bridge* (Figure 2.31), St Paul's is seen from the vantage point of the bridge, where a small figure stands. St Paul's is not the dominant object in the composition, but rather one of many. Its dome is seen over the plain brick chimneys of the buildings which house the brewery. The dynamism of Doré's compositions is displayed most vividly in his choice of this viewpoint. Instead of being an outsider looking in, as one is in Pugin's compositions, in Doré's pictures, the viewer is often implicitly located within a scene. Thus, Doré takes the viewer further into the city than Pugin. One of the most striking examples of this is the scene *Zoological Gardens -The Monkey House* (Figure 2.32), where Doré locates the viewer within the monkey's cage, looking through its mesh at the people outside. In this way the viewer becomes more involved in the scene. Doré also plays with the relationship between the viewer and viewed. Rather than the animals being the focus, as they were in Pugin's print, here it is the crowd who are watched by the monkeys. *The Stalls – Covent Garden Opera* (Figure 2.33), further extends this reversal of the viewed and viewer. Where in Pugin's *Académie Royale de Musique* (Figure 2.27), the audience look towards the stage, here it is the audience who are the focus of the illustration. On the whole, Doré's compositions are much more realistic than Pugin's and show an interest in showing things as they really are rather than as how he thinks they should appear. They are much more varied than Pugin's and achieve Doré's idea of London as a chaotic and confusing city. By inviting a viewer to feel they are part of the scene, he creates an impression for the viewer that they are actually in London. This immediacy accentuates the social and political questions Doré wishes to raise.

The arrangement of image and text in the two books also relates to the characteristics of the picturesque and Realist modes in illustration. In *Paris and its Environs*, illustrations and text are presented on opposing pages. However, as was characteristic of steel-engraved works of the time, the illustrations are titled and embellished with the names of the artists, engravers and printers involved in their production. The separation of image and text means that the images are able to be considered on their own. Indeed, buyers of these books could remove the prints and frame them. The arrangement of image and text on the page in *London: A Pilgrimage* is very different, as the text and images are integrated. The tendency to integrate image and text on a page began with the illustrations artists such as Johannot produced for Romantic novels in France. It continued in the serialization of Victorian novels such as those by Charles Dickens and Thomas Hardy in England. Where, in *Paris and its Environs*, the illustrations and text were on different pages, in *London: A Pilgrimage*, many illustrations are

positioned as vignettes within the text on a page. There are also full page illustrations on their own, but there is still a certain harmony between text and image on the pages throughout the book. There are also instances, at the beginning of chapters, where the large first letters are integrated into the small illustrations. An example is *A Balcony Scene* (Figure 2.34), in which the 'H' is the window frame.⁵⁵ Another example is in the chapter "In the Season." Here, a bear climbs up a pole which is a substitute for the letter 'T' in the word 'Indeed' in the illustration *The Bear Pit – Zoological Gardens* (Figure 2.35).⁵⁶ As well as providing a witty touch, this approach to the integration of text and image would have reminded readers of the illustrated novels of the time. The difference between the integration of image and text relates to the difference in aesthetic styles between the two publications. With Pugin's book the illustrations can be considered on their own as self-contained picturesque scenes. However, in Doré's book, the illustrations are an intrinsic part of a narrative which tells the story of the city in a deeper way. They are not just there to be admired as Pugin's are.

The particular aesthetic modes chosen by Pugin and Doré were appropriate for the view of the cities they wished to project. In the case of Pugin, the picturesque mode allowed him to present the city in a flattering light as a stable and prosperous place. His views make it look very attractive for a potential tourist. As well as focusing on what was attractive, he could even manipulate potentially unattractive scenes into a picturesque character. His choice to use the picturesque mode also matched the tastes of his audience for pleasing views which were attractive rather than challenging. Pugin's clear and sharply delineated style of drawing and ordered compositions were also in line with the picturesque. On the other hand, the characteristics of Realism allowed Doré to present a much deeper and more challenging view of the city. He could include scenes that would appear unattractive and even upsetting to viewers. By exaggerating certain features of the city, he could represent the fast pace of modern life in London, and capture the chaos and confusion of city life. This was enhanced by Doré's freer drawing style and dynamic compositions. Both Pugin and Doré used the aesthetic modes most popular in their respective epochs, but manipulated them to fit in with their own particular aesthetic agendas. In the case of Pugin, this was to present a picture of a dignified, unified and stable capital. Doré, by contrast, sought to represent a capital full of drama and difference. Their chosen aesthetic modes also allowed them to comment on social and political issues in very different ways, as I shall discuss in Chapter Three.

⁵⁵ See also *The Opera, London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 107, where the illustration is included within the letter 'o'.

⁵⁶ See also *The British Lion*, *ibid*, p. 1, where the 'w' is entwined with a flag hanging over the lion.



Figure 2.1 *Intérieur de Notre Dame*



Figure 2.2 *Eglise de Montmartre*



Figure 2.3 *Monument d'Abélard et d'Héloïse, Père Lachaise*



Figure 2.4 *Abattoir at Montmartre*



Figure 2.5 Bishopsgate Street

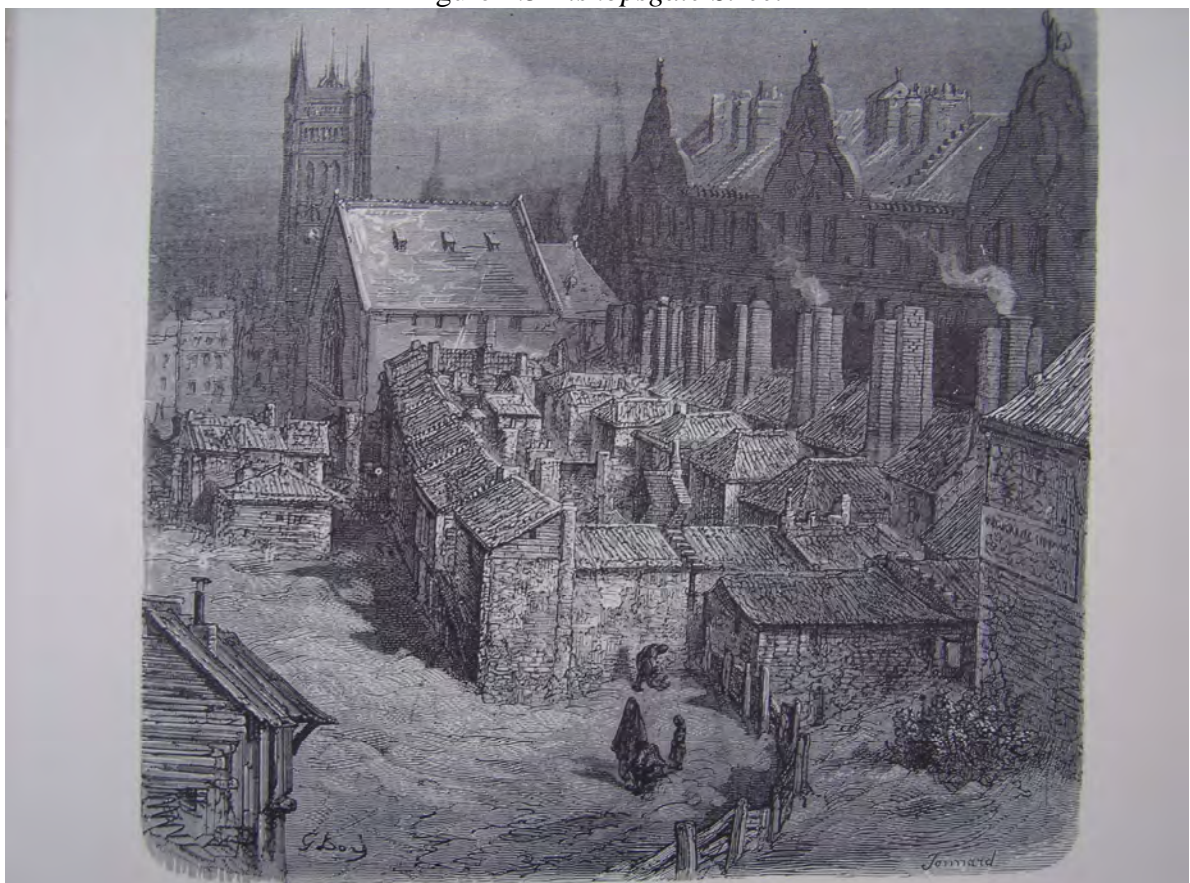


Figure 2.6 The Devil's Acre – Westminster

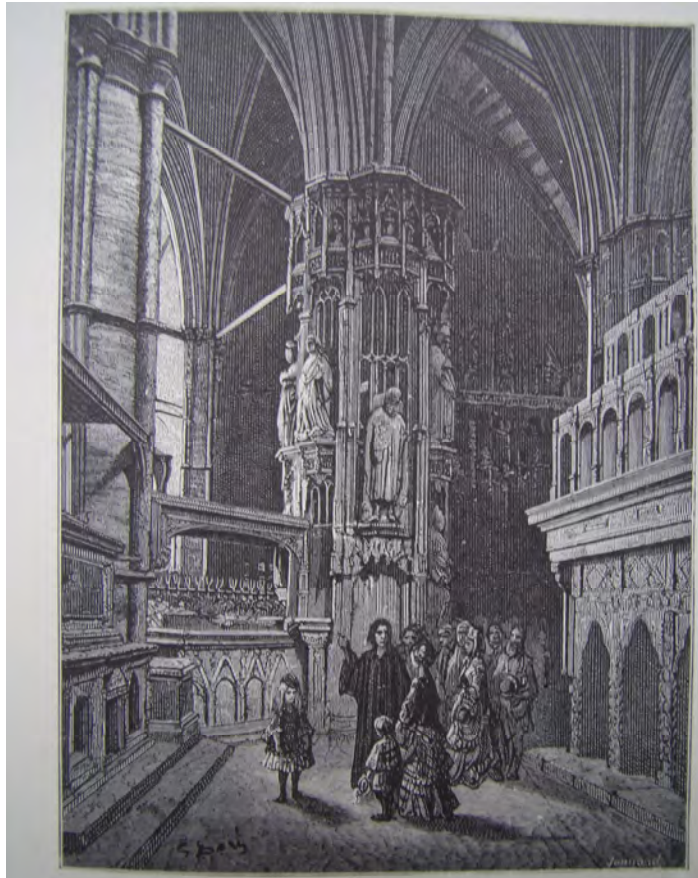


Figure 2.7 Westminster – *The Round of the Abbey*



Figure 2.8 *The Fountain – Broad Sanctuary*

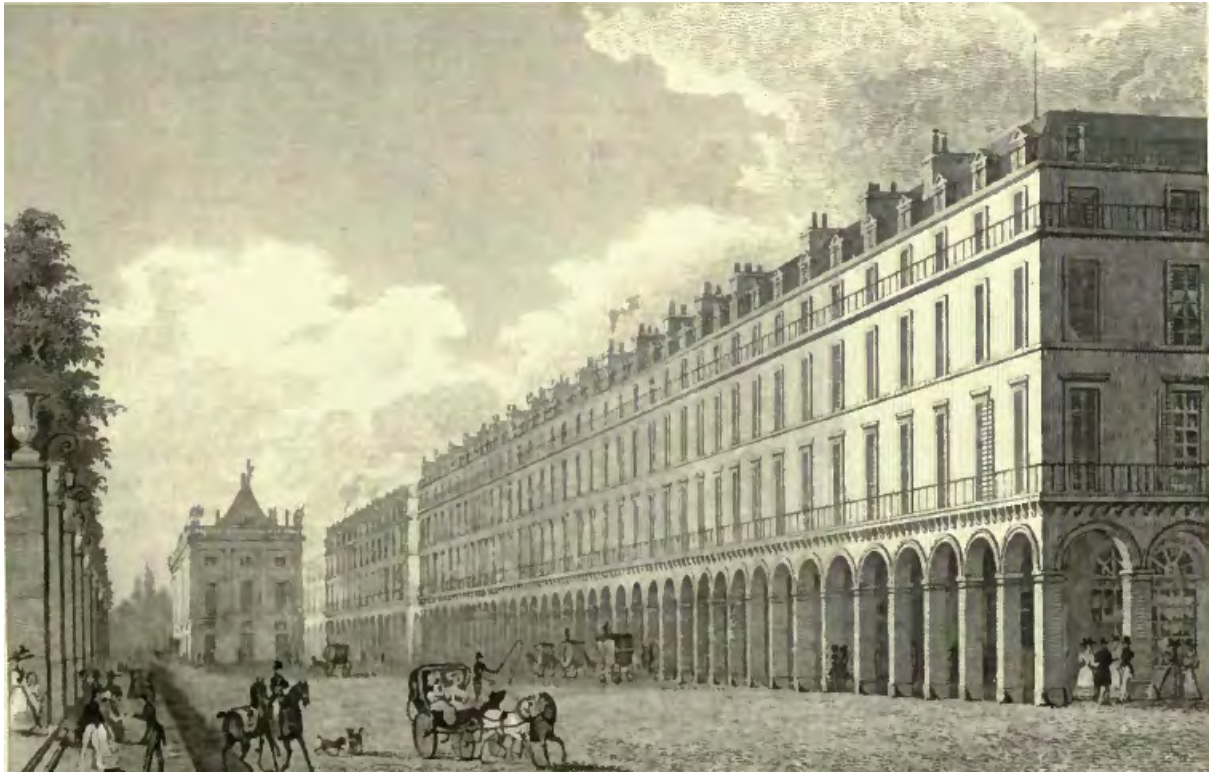


Figure 2.9 *Rue de Rivoli*

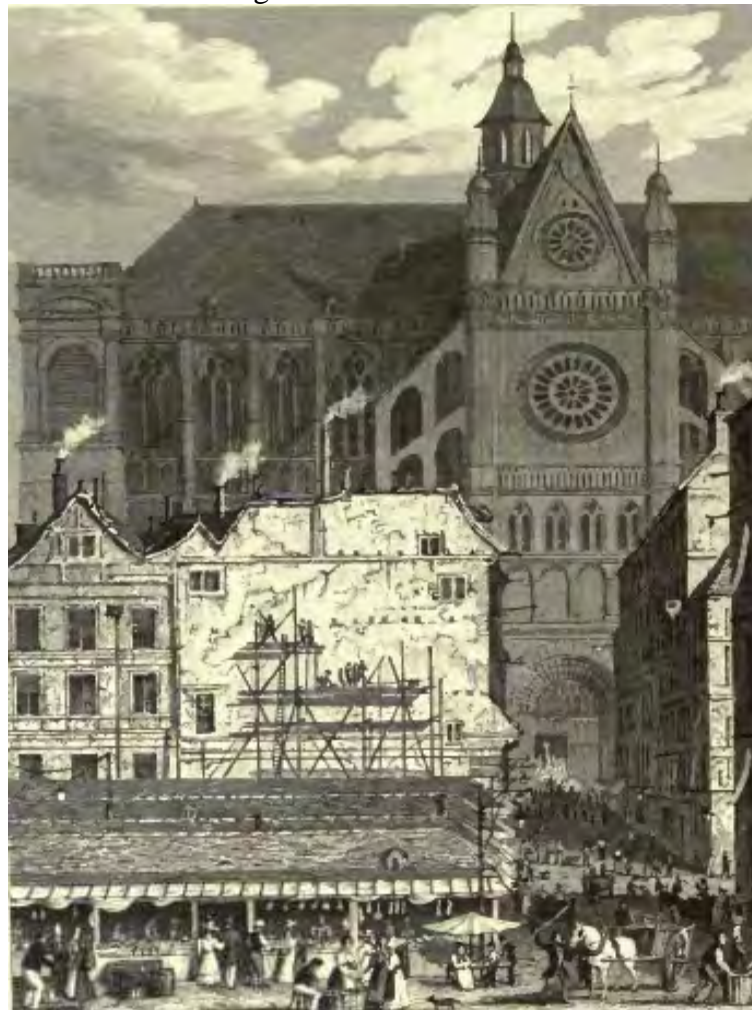


Figure 2.10 *L' Eglise de St. Eustache*



Figure 2.11 *The Derby – Tattenham Corner*

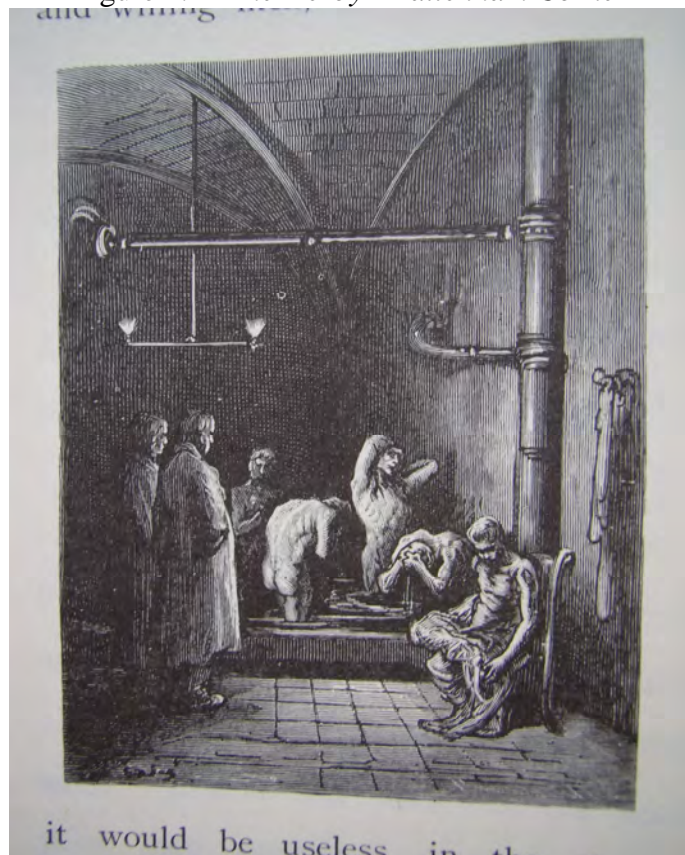


Figure 2.12 *A House of Refuge – In the Bath*



Figure 2.13 *Hôtel de Cluny*



Figure 2.14 *Rue Castiglione (Qui donne vers la Place Vendôme)*



Figure 2.15 *The Fly Paper Merchant*



2.16 *A Flower Girl*

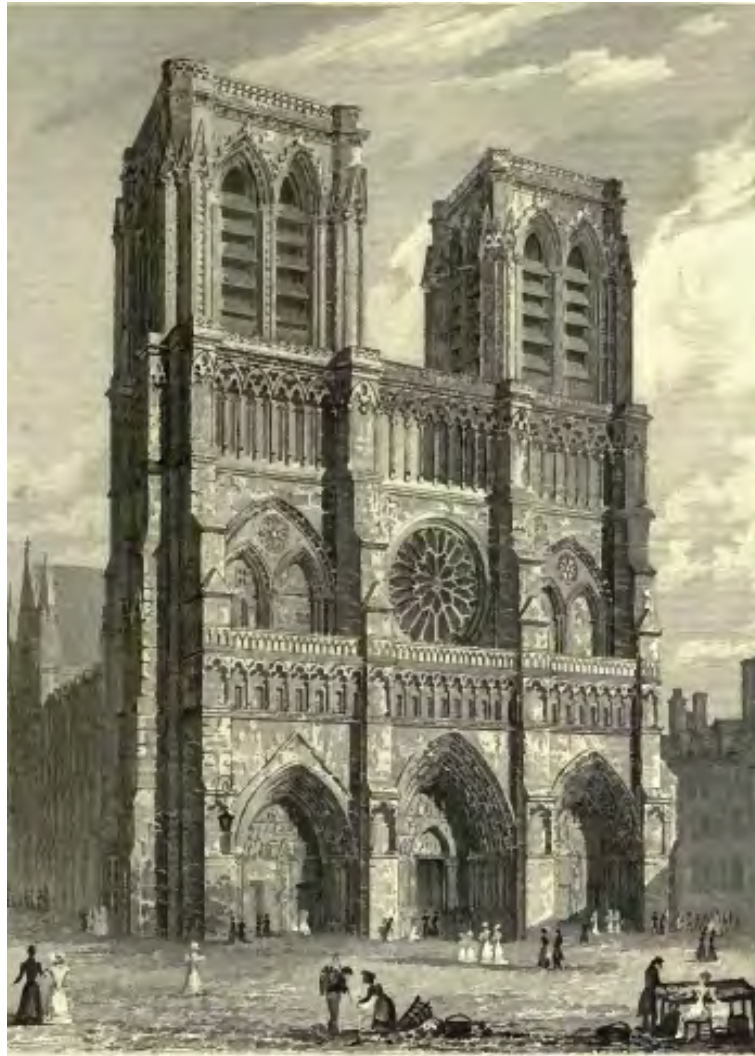


Figure 2.17 *West Front of the Church of Notre Dame*



Figure 2.18 *Pont des Arts from the Pont Royale*



Figure 2.19 *La Morgue, Quai Notre Dame*

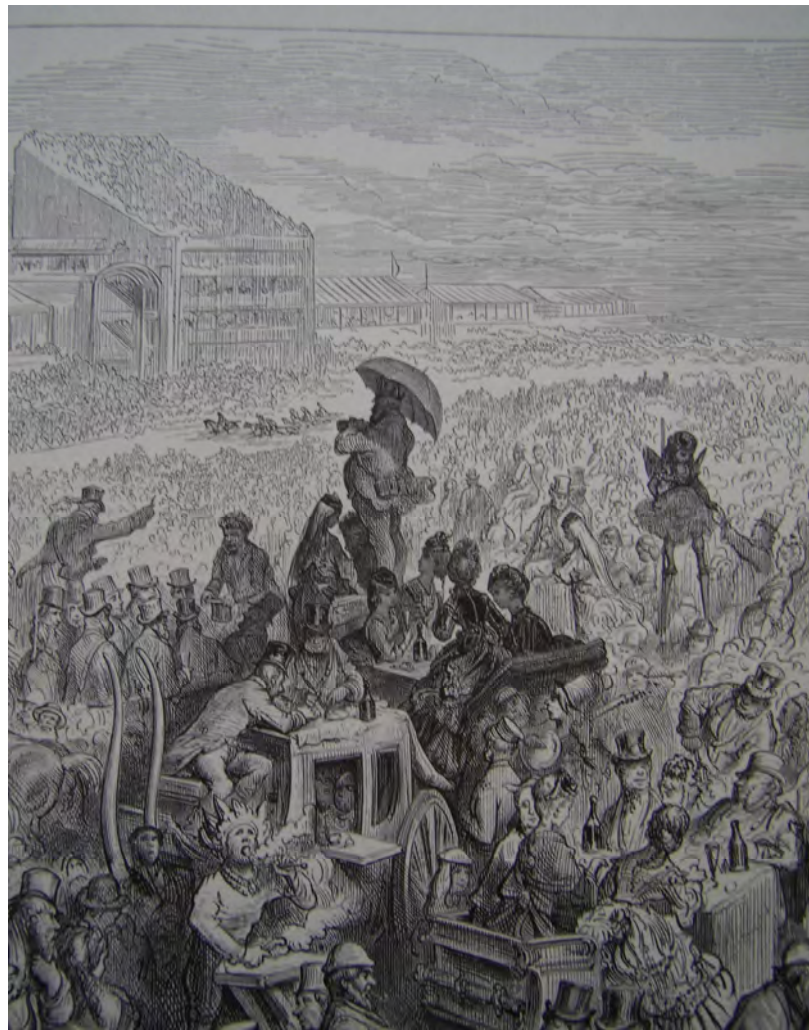


Figure 2.20 *The Derby – At Lunch*



Figure 2.21 *Brewer's Men*



Figure 2.22 *Hayboats on the Thames*



Figure 2.23 *Bluegate Fields*



Figure 2.24 *Croquet*



Figure 2.25 *Court of the Louvre*



Figure 2.26 *Menagerie, Jardin des Plantes*



Figure 2.27 *Académie Royale de Musique*



Figure 2.28 *A City Thoroughfare*



Figure 2.29 *London Bridge, 1872*



Figure 2.30 *Tower of London*



Figure 2.31 *St Paul's from the Brewery Bridge*



Figure 2.32 *Zoological Gardens – The Monkey House*



Figure 2.33 *The Stalls – Covent Garden Opera*

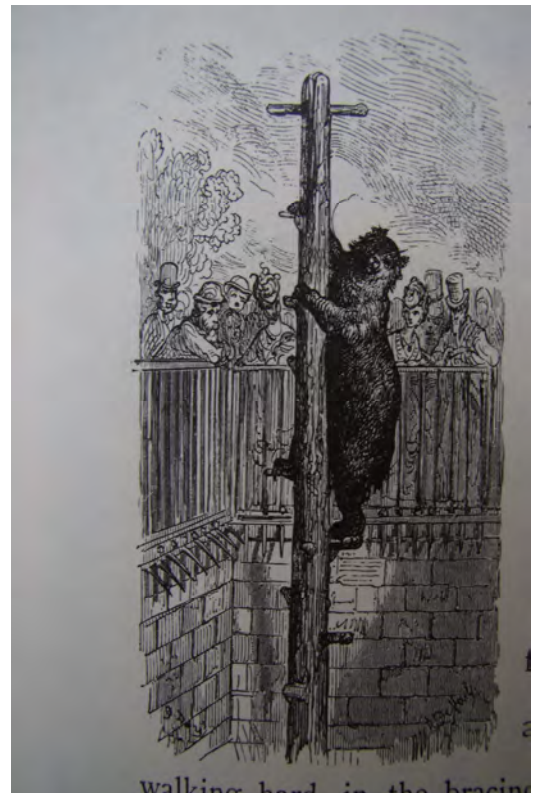


Figure 2.34 *A Balcony Scene* Figure 2.35 *The Bear Pit – Zoological Gardens*

Chapter Three: Celebrating and critiquing the city: the representation of social and political issues

Through their representations of life in Paris and London, Pugin and Doré either create a celebration or a critique of the city in the nineteenth century. Their attitudes to the city are very much reflections of the ideas prevalent at the time of the publications of their books and those relating to their chosen aesthetic modes. These ideas were expressed in both contemporary art and journalism. The July Monarchy took place during the preparation of *Paris and its Environs*. The production of *London: A Pilgrimage*, on the other hand, was interrupted by the events of the Franco-Prussian war. These political events were accompanied by changes in the social orders of the two cities. In this chapter, I shall investigate Pugin and Doré's representation of political and social issues. After raising some general points on this theme, I shall examine their depictions of the economy of the city, including work on the river, industry and urban commercial life. I shall then progress to their representations of Parisian and English society, including the depiction of the leisured classes and their relation to the working classes. This will be followed by a study of Pugin and Doré's representations of the city institutions, including prisons, hospitals and charities. I shall end the chapter by looking at Pugin's representation of the events of the July Monarchy and Doré's depiction of life in the slum areas of London. A comparison of the ways Pugin and Doré treat these subjects will reveal their particular attitudes to the city of the nineteenth century.

While the views of the city presented by Pugin, in *Paris and its Environs*, and Doré, in *London: A Pilgrimage*, are a reflection of prevalent attitudes to the social and political life of the cities, their accuracy as factual portraits of the cities is variable. Though based on contemporary life, they are both works of fiction rather than documentary truth. As I suggested in Chapter Two, the respective aesthetic modes in which each artist worked influenced their representation of the city. Political strife and the industrial revolution were two of the major events which shaped the nineteenth century. The effects of these events on society caused the optimism of the early nineteenth century to give way to the pessimism of the late nineteenth century. These changes are reflected in the way the city is viewed by Pugin and Doré. Both publications focus on the public rather than private lives of citizens. Pugin represents a stable city, while Doré represents a city in a state of flux. Pugin stresses social unity, while Doré emphasizes a city divided socially. Paris, at the time of

Pugin's book, was not the united and stable city he depicts. The divide between the upper and lower classes was considerable, with certain elements of the lower classes held in low esteem by the wealthy.¹ There were, for example, slum areas which were quite separate from the more respectable areas of the city.² As he chooses not to depict these, Pugin's view of the city is, arguably, one which skims over the surface and avoids difficult or controversial issues. He is much more interested in presenting a work which will satisfy the tastes and aspirations of his readers. He does not have a social agenda as does Doré. Ira Bruce Nadel suggests that, to a certain extent, *London: A Pilgrimage* presents a view of a unified city:

The major theme of the work is the social and economic unity of the metropolis, although this view was anachronistic by 1869-70 because London was divided by occupation, living conditions, transportation systems and the absence of any central governing political authority. In his engravings Doré maintains the distinction and separation between classes; in his prose, Jerrold does not, emphasizing a unity created by the striking variety within the city.³

The views of Doré and Jerrold are often in conflict, with the latter being more optimistic and simplifying complex issues. For example, when Jerrold talks about charity, saying it “knocks at nearly every household door in this, England's capital, and is not turned away empty-handed from many.”⁴ This may be so, but Doré's depictions of poverty, suggest that charity is not reaching everyone. Despite its limitations as a completely accurate picture of the city at the time, Doré achieves a much more critical view of the city than Pugin. Doré's illustrations reveal to viewers the social problems of the time, even if these are somewhat exaggerated or over-dramatic.

One of the most interesting aspects of Pugin's representation of Paris is his depiction of the economy of the city. He depicts a large working class engaged in work on the river, in industry and in trade. Paris is represented as a city with a stable and strong economy. The strength of Paris' economy is linked to the government. Much of the work of the city was centred around the river Seine, and Pugin depicts numerous scenes of work and trade on the river. For example, in *View taken from the Pont des Arts* (Figure 3.1) people transport goods

¹ As H. A. C. Collingham in *The July Monarchy. A Political History of France. 1830-1848* (London and New York: Longman, 1988), p. 1, notes: “France in 1830 was a highly fragmented society. A succession of political, social and economic changes had destroyed the old order, but no new system had won the loyalties of the majority.”

² Collingham (ibid, p. 1) goes on to mention “the hungry and unemployed in Paris . . . a new wave of indigents seeking the official and private charity that was to be found in the capital” and the “hideous slums” of Paris.

³ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Gustave Doré: English Art and London Life,” p. 152.

⁴ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 179.

along the river in light wooden boats.⁵ In this illustration the work is his focus rather than the workers themselves. Another example of commerce on the river is Pugin's depiction of the barriers which guard the city from people approaching it from the water, as in *Barrière de la Cunette* (Figure 3.2).⁶ Pugin's illustration emphasizes the solid structure of the custom house. In doing so, he suggests the power held by the government which could make extra money from people working on the river by collecting duties on the goods they were bringing into the capital. However, Ventouillac writes that people attempted to set fire to it, demonstrating that there was some ill feeling between the people and the government.⁷ By emphasizing the wealth of government structures, Pugin expresses a positive view of the French regime. Ventouillac also explicitly praises Napoleon within the text on numerous occasions, suggesting that his past influence has much to do with the smooth running of present day commercial activities in the city. An example of this is his assertion that the *Canal de l'Ourcq* is "one of the public improvements for which Paris is indebted to Napoleon."⁸ He also expresses admiration for the current government in his comments on the *Quai des Orfèvres*, writing that "great public spirit has been evinced by the successive modern governments of France, in affording every accomodation to the pursuits of commerce."⁹

Pugin depicts other aspects of the business of the city. One of these is the stock exchange, *La Bourse* (Figure 3.3).¹⁰ While the leisured classes are seen outside it, the building itself is the focus of the illustration. The work which goes on within is not depicted, but Ventouillac suggests that it is just as impressive: "The communications between the different offices, the Tribunal, & c. are managed in the most convenient manner imaginable."¹¹ Of the *Poste Royale* (Figure 3.4), Ventouillac notes that it is entirely under the direction of the government.¹² In the illustration the postal workers are dressed tidily and their horses are in order. The influence of the government is thus represented as ranging over all enterprise in

⁵ See also *Vue du Pont Neuf, Prise entre le Quai des Augustines et Celui des Orfèvres, Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 105. Ventouillac writes: "On the piers various small shops are established, and the whole line of passage is crowded with itinerant tradesmen of all descriptions."

⁶ Ventouillac (p. 88) writes, "In this part of the river, as at the eastern extremity of the metropolis, a boat, called *patache*, is stationed to collect the duties due upon goods entering the capital by water." See also *Barrière de Passy*, *ibid*, facing p. 151.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 88.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 117.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 133.

¹⁰ Other examples are the stamp office, *Timbre Royal* and the courtyard of the ministry of finance, *Cour du Ministre des Finances, Paris and its Environs*, both facing p. 95. See also *Octroi Général*, facing p. 175, which depicts the payment of public duties. These include duties on provisions, wine and spirits. Again, the structure which houses this establishment is imposing.

¹¹ *Ibid*, facing p. 23.

¹² *Ibid*, facing p. 57.

the city. Pugin goes on to represent the achievements of modern industry in a number of illustrations. One of these was the ability to transport water to houses. In the illustration *Pompe à Feu, Gros Caillou* (Figure 3.5), some upper and lower class figures are shown in front of the waterworks building to give the scene local colour.¹³ Again, Pugin's view is an admiring one and he emphasizes the large building which houses the waterworks rather than showing the work itself in detail. On the whole, work is seen to be a collective and government based enterprise, rather than an individual one.

While much of the trade depicted in *Paris and its Environs* takes place on the river, other trade takes place in the town. Pugin represents the various markets of Paris. These establishments are also credited to the government, rather than individuals. They are large and organized. An example of this is *Halle au Blé* (Figure 3.6), the wheat market. It is housed within an impressive structure and the piles of wheat are much larger than the figures who mill around. Ventouillac writes that Wednesdays and Saturdays are the market days for grain, but flour is sold there every day.¹⁴ There are thus particular rules governing what can be sold at them and when it can be sold. The *Halle aux Vins* (Figure 3.7) is another example of a market. In this case it brings together all the wine merchants of the city. Ventouillac notes that the merchants were not pleased to be forced to sell their produce to it rather than sell it themselves.¹⁵ In this way Paris is seen to be a city where modern ideas about trade are put into practice. As well as the organized markets, there are some individual street sellers but they are nowhere near as eccentric as those depicted by Doré, which I shall soon consider. An example of this is in *Fontaine des Innocents* (Figure 3.8).¹⁶ In this illustration, individuals in simple peasant style costumes sell from small tables on the street. *Paris and its Environs* thus depicts Paris as a successful capital. The citizens of Paris may not approve of the control of the government, but Pugin clearly does, and his book could almost be considered state propaganda.

Doré also focuses on the economy of the city in *London: A Pilgrimage*. While he depicts

¹³ Ventouillac (p. 99) writes that “this is one of the celebrated hydraulic erections of the Messrs. Perrier, designed to supply with water the houses and fountains of Paris on the left bank of the Seine.” See also *Pompe à Feu, Passy*, *ibid*, facing p. 131. Developments in construction are also represented in illustrations such as *Pont d'Austerlitz*, facing p. 107. Again, it is the bridge Pugin focuses on rather than the people who made it.

¹⁴ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 109. See also *Marché St. Germain and Le Marché de St. Germain* facing p. 163 and p. 175 and *Marché aux Fleurs*, facing p. 129.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, facing p. 45. This was also established by Napoleon.

¹⁶ See also *Palais de Justice, vers la Rue de la Barillerie*, *ibid*, facing p. 97.

work as a positive thing, his depiction of it is very different from Pugin's. Where Pugin represents trade and commerce as being controlled by the government, Doré does not depict any such institutions. Instead, work is positioned as something individual and even heroic. Doré makes work seem sublime and often gives it a mysterious quality. Like Pugin, Doré focuses on the work which takes place around the river. In this case it is the river Thames and the docks. An example of this is the illustration *A River Side Street*.¹⁷ The scale of the buildings and barrels, compared to the workers, emphasizes the possible danger of the work and the heaviness of the labour required. This is characteristic of Doré's tendency to emphasize the physical nature of the work of the city. The workers appear to be strong and confident in what they are doing. The way none of the figures meet the gaze of a viewer, not to mention the darkness of the scene, adds to its atmosphere of mystery and secrecy. In its perspective, this scene can be compared to the etchings of Piranesi, showing that Doré and Pugin had some influences in common. In the illustration *Inside the Docks* (Figure 3.10), Doré represents a large tangle of ropes, among which the figures balance precariously. Doré emphasizes the strength of the figure on the left by emphasizing the muscles on their arm. While Pugin uses large buildings to signify the power of the government, here the large riggings of ships demonstrate the strength and bravery of the workers.

As well as these more traditional activities, Doré also depicts the achievements of industry that had developed largely since Pugin's book came out. However, he does not always celebrate it in the way Pugin does. In *Over London by Rail* (Figure 5.11), the effects of progress are shown in a negative light. This was in line with the reaction against the industrialized city which had emerged in second half of the nineteenth century and was expressed by artists, writers and other public figures. Doré depicts the train and the railway bridge at the top of the composition, but he gives much more emphasis to the backyards of the slum housing below. He emphasizes the smoke, which pollutes the atmosphere. In this way, the illustration can be seen as a critique of the industrial revolution. Modern machinery and progress have not helped society. People have become the victims of progress. Doré approaches the depiction of industry in another way in his illustrations of work in the factories. *The Lambeth Gasworks* (Figure 3.11) has an air of mystery and the whole illustration has ceremonial overtones.¹⁸ This is particularly the case with the figure in the foreground holding a large tool and the workers in the background holding flaming objects.

¹⁷ Figure 3.9. See also *Warehousing in the City, London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. 114.

¹⁸ See Woods' comments on this illustration, p. 346.

The drapery of the workers and the emphasis on their strong physiques gives them the quality of classical figures. Doré shows a reverence for this kind of work and in this case could be seen to be celebrating industry in a similar manner to Pugin. *Lambeth Potteries* (Figure 3.12) shows a group of workers and the results of their work. The fact that Doré chooses to depict traditional craft based activities could be seen as a critique of the developments of work by machine and a valuing of traditional skills. The chapter “The Town of Malt” focuses on the brewery. The lighting of the scene *Mixing the Malt* (Figure 5.12) gives it a mysterious quality. Again, Doré emphasizes the strong physiques of the workers. The illustration *Brewer's Men* (Figure 2.21) shows how Doré individualizes his working class figures. Where Pugin represents workers in a generalized way, Doré gives them personalities. For example, the figure to the left of centre has a smug expression. Despite this individuality, their thoughts and motives are not obvious. They appear uninterested in the viewer, and this distance means a viewer is less able to identify with them. That they are not at all figures of pity, is an example of how Doré expresses his respect for the working classes.

Doré goes on to represent the markets of London. In direct contrast to Pugin, Doré devotes much attention to the commerce of the poorer parts of London rather than just the big business of the city. An example of one of the large organized markets is *Covent Garden Market – Early Morning* (Figure 3.13) which seems quite busy and chaotic in comparison to Pugin's depictions of organized markets. There are also many individual street vendors. These were previously represented by Henry Mayhew in *London Labour and the London Poor*.¹⁹ The street vendors Doré depicts sell flowers, food, beverages or more unlikely wares such as those sold by *The Fly Paper Merchant* (Figure 2.15). Doré focuses on the vendor's eccentricity by emphasizing his large hat, but still represents him sympathetically. Doré does not turn this merchant into a figure of fun. These illustrations demonstrate the diversity of jobs undertaken by the poor and the variety of wares they sell. The chapter “Humble Industries” focuses specifically on the business which takes place in the poorest areas of London. Doré does depict *The Royal Exchange* (Figure 3.14) as a vignette in this chapter, but gives prime place to illustrations of the businesses of the poor. Doré's exchange looks like those included in Pugin's book. In contrast with its elegance, the workplaces of the poor are much more humble. Jerrold calls the poor “shiftless, hopeless victims of the fierce competition and the overcrowded labour market.”²⁰ An example of this is *The Rag*

¹⁹ See Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1849).

²⁰ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 122.

Merchant's Home – Coulston Street, Whitechapel (Figure 3.15). Jerrold writes: “The old clothesman's children are rolling about upon his greasy treasure, while he, with his heavy silver spectacles poised upon his hooked nose, takes up each item, and estimates it to a farthing.”²¹ Doré and Jerrold do not ignore the fact that greed can occur among the poor as much as the rich. However, Doré does not assert any particular moral message in this illustration. Another example from this chapter is *Jewish Butcher's – Aldgate* (Figure 3.16). Their point here is to acknowledge the people of different cultures who live and work in the poorer parts of London alongside the English lower classes. Jerrold writes that “The West End Londoner is as completely in a strange land as any traveller from the continent.”²² *New Cut – Old Clothes Mart* (Figure 3.17) depicts the sale of old clothing. Jerrold asserts, “the rich man buys first-hand; the poor man, fifth-hand.”²³ In this way Doré focuses on the dynamics of the commerce of the city, and sympathizes with the poor and excluded in a way Pugin does not.

Because of the strong economy of the cities, both have a leisured class that does not need to work. In *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin expresses admiration for the upper classes. They are represented as elegant, cultured people of taste. They always behave in a decorous manner and seem happily engaged in their pursuits. He depicts them as frequenting fashionable passages, cafés, châteaux, palaces, gardens, streets, theatres, churches, and other establishments. Their appearance and behaviour are always immaculate. An example of this is in the illustration *Rotonde, Passage Colbert* (Figure 4.8), which is representative of the many scenes of the upper classes.²⁴ The children stay close to the adults and the women are always in groups or with men, they are never seen unchaperoned. The children behave just as decorously as the adults. For example, in *Palace of the Luxembourg* (Figure 3.18), a young boy plays with a wheel under the close watch of the women sitting on a chair. *Café Turc* (Figure 3.19) is an example of one of Paris' fashionable cafés.²⁵ This is another example of a place where the wealthy could meet and show themselves off. These activities are characteristic of the refined pursuits of Pugin's leisured class. The figures converse in groups and appear to be calm and relaxed but always maintain an elegant appearance.

²¹ Ibid, p. 123.

²² Ibid, p. 124.

²³ Ibid, p. 156.

²⁴ See also *Château d' Eau, Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 13.

²⁵ Ventouillac (*Paris and its Environs*, p. 25) writes that “The coffee room of the Café Turc is the handsomest in Paris, and in addition, it is distinguished for its gardens which are laid out in the finest taste. Concerts are occasionally given within them, and it has also a billiard room.”

As well as being fashionably elegant in appearance, Pugin represents the upper classes as being well rounded in their interests. They are depicted around the city at various cultural establishments and have a taste for both the arts and science. This reflects Diderot's ideas about the *homme de goût* or man of taste. His ideas about knowledge are also applicable. The desire of Pugin's Parisians to educate themselves reflects Diderot's idea that the noblest human accomplishment is the increase of knowledge.²⁶ Diderot wrote that curiosity was “a 'desire to acquire' not only the sort of object with which the enthusiast filled his rooms but also, if not above all, a social position enabling one to exert a decisive influence on the lives of artists and on their art itself.”²⁷ Baudelaire's later conception of the *flâneur*, which I previously highlighted, is also applicable to Pugin's upper class figures, who roam the city, observing and taking part in its entertainments. *Théâtre des Variétés* (Figure 3.20) is one of the many scenes of fashionable figures waiting outside the theatre.²⁸ The two who travel in an open carriage are very much on show. There is a sense that they are as interested in being seen at such places as they are in enjoying the performance itself. They, themselves, are almost performers. Similarly, this is the case in the illustration *Académie Royale de Musique* (Figure 2.27), where the women wear elaborate feathered headresses and are on display in the boxes. A more intellectual inclination is demonstrated in the illustration *Bibliothèque Royale* (Figure 3.21). The fact that the figures are shown in the stately garden outside the library could be suggestive of the fact that culture is as much a pose for the upper classes as a true interest. Another example of the cultural activities of the upper classes is in the illustration *Galerie de Francois I, Fontainebleau* (Figure 3.22) where the figures admire the works of art, including paintings and sculptures. They look just as relaxed as if they were walking in a park, however, so the appreciation of art does not seem studious. *L' Observatoire* (Figure 3.23) mirrors the interest in science that was prominent at the time, with many members of the upper classes assembling cabinets of curiosities.²⁹ These would often include natural objects. Pugin's Parisians are not often engaged in sport or more active pursuits, though one

²⁶ See James Doolittle, “Criticism as creation in the work of Diderot”, *Yale French Studies*, n 3, 1949, p. 15.

²⁷ See Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors & Curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 137.

²⁸ See also *Italian Opera House (South Front), Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 23.

²⁹ See Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds), *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 149-151. The famous collection 'The Ark' is described: “Two major divisions are recognized among the 'materials – the natural and the artificial. The first category is sub-divided into birds, four-footed beasts, fishes, shell creatures, insects, minerals and outlandish fruits . . . The second major category, the 'Artificials' comprised utensils, household items, habits, instruments of war, rare curiosities of art, and coins and medals.”

exception is the illustration *Maison de Francois I aux Champs Elysées* (Figure 3.24) where the figures pose on horseback, rather than actually ride. An interest in health is shown in the illustration *Bains Vigniers, Pont Royal* (Figure 3.25). The public baths are another example of a government initiative, though in keeping with the propriety of the book, only the outside is shown. The upper classes also attend church and are seen to be completing the duties expected of them. An example of this is in the illustration *Intérieur de Notre Dame* (Figure 2.1). Pugin thus depicts the upper classes as admirably elegant and well rounded people who possess a variety of tastes and accomplishments. This appealed to his readers' aspirations.

Doré also depicts the leisured classes. While he pictures them engaged in some of the same activities as Pugin's Parisians, his representation of them is quite different. The chapters which most explicitly deal with the lives of the upper classes are “The West End,” “In the Season,” “London Under Green Leaves,” “With the Beasts” and “London at Play.” These chapters present a comprehensive view of the London social season which Jerrold characterizes as exhausting. He describes a typical day of the season: “The opera and then home, is an off-night which is delightful to the weary traveller from garden party, to tea, to dinner, to conversazione, and rout, and ball – who has no rest from sunset to sunrise, and is then due in the park in the morning.”³⁰ In his illustrations, Doré exaggerates the appearance of London society. He focuses on the luxurious appearance of the wealthy and their surroundings. *A Ball at the Mansion House* (Figure 3.26) is one of the many views of the life of the upper classes.³¹ In this illustration, the women are dressed in lavish costumes and the room is elegant. Despite their surroundings, the figures seem listless and bored. The women, in particular, seem restrained in their movements, weighed down by their heavy dresses.³² Doré emphasizes the separation of the upper classes from the business of life in the city. An example of this is in *The Goldsmiths' at Dinner* (Figure 3.27), where the balcony acts as a dividing line, isolating the women of the Goldsmith family from the action of the dinner party below.³³ Doré also exposes the vanity and foibles of the rich. Rather than merely admiring them, he sometimes gently makes fun of them. *Zoological Gardens – The Parrot*

³⁰ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 174.

³¹ See also *Holland House – A Garden Party*, *ibid*, facing p. 88 and *A Chiswick Fête*, facing p. 80, in which the women's dresses look very white and frilly against the dark background. The sheerness of the costumes gives them a fairy like appearance.

³² Donald J. Gray in “Views and Sketches of London in the Nineteenth Century,” p. 5, raises the point that the rich seem oppressed and caught in the confusion of the city.

³³ In *Greenwich – In the Season*, *London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. ii, upper class people pose on the balcony. They are very much separated from the river and the boats below. Again, the balcony is used as a device to show their isolation.

Walk (Figure 3.28), is an example of this. A parallel is drawn between the women in their finery and the birds. They appear side by side and the frills of the women's dresses echo the birds' feathers. Neither appear to be active, they are instead there to be looked at. The women are trapped as much as the captive birds.

Compared with Pugin's Parisians, Doré depicts the English as more actively interested in sporting activities, both as participants and spectators. Doré focuses on these activities rather than the intellectual and cultural pursuits depicted by Pugin. The English upper classes do not seem as well rounded in their tastes and accomplishments as the Parisians Pugin depicts. Jerrold suggests that, as far as London society is concerned, amusement “does not mean a survey of the mastodon at the British Museum, nor a journey through the schools of painting at the National Gallery, or in the Bethnal Green Museum. When the bow is loosened, the overworked Londoner requires 'violent delights'.”³⁴ Despite this, the English enjoy the opera as much as the Parisians, as illustrated in *The Stalls – Covent Garden Opera* (Figure 2.33).³⁵ The people here are very much on display, as they were in Pugin's illustration of the academy of music. In *The Ladies' Mile* (Figure 4.12), upper class women, men and children, in elegant riding habit, are shown parading on their horses. They seem to float in a white misty atmosphere. This romantic atmosphere is also present in *Croquet* (Figure 2.24), which is a moonlit scene. Although they are engaged in a sporting activity, the figures are as still and restrained as ever. The women also wear heavy costumes similar to their ballgowns. Where Pugin's upper classes appear satisfied with their elegant life of leisure, there are times in *London: A Pilgrimage* where Doré suggests that, for all their wealth and elegance, something is missing from the lives of the upper classes. This is apparent in the illustrations where the upper classes are shown to be bored or in some ways restricted in their behaviour.

While the working class and upper class are depicted as leading separate lives, there are times when Pugin and Doré depict the two classes in the same illustration. Such illustrations reveal the artists' attitudes to the class divide, which was the reality of life in both capitals. In *Paris and its Environs*, Ventouillac makes this division explicit when he describes the differing plots in the Père Lachaise cemetery. There are three groups, the public graves for

³⁴ Ibid, p. 162.

³⁵ An interest in sports is shown in *Lord's*, *ibid*, facing p. 170, where the upper classes view the horses from the comfort of their carriages through opera glasses.

the poor, the temporary graves and the permanent ones for those who could afford it.³⁶ However, Pugin never depicts class conflict in his illustrations. The lower classes are always seen to be engaged in work or contained within institutional settings. They are never seen as a threatening presence. The only conflict Pugin shows is in his depiction of scenes from the July Monarchy. I shall discuss these later in this chapter. He does not show the slum areas at all, though, as I noted earlier, they did exist at this time. There are several scenes where lower and upper class figures appear side by side on the street. A representative example is *Château d' Eau, Vers Palais Royal* (Figure 3.29).³⁷ In this illustration the people of the different classes do not interact, yet no hostility is shown to exist between them. In this way, Pugin glosses over the class conflict which existed at the time and shows the classes as living separate but complementary lives.

This is a direct contrast to Doré's representation of the relationship between the classes in *London: A Pilgrimage*. He stresses the hostility of the lower classes to the upper classes. An example of this is when he represents himself and Jerrold in the slum areas.³⁸ The classes are generally depicted in separate illustrations, but the mixing of classes is demonstrated in the chapters on the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, and the Derby. In reference to these events, Jerrold stresses class connections, whilst Doré emphasizes class divisions. One of the clearest examples of this is *The River Bank – Under the Trees* (Figure 3.30).³⁹ It depicts a group of upper class figures resting on the river bank, while a group of lower class figures watch from the tree branches above them. They are united in their interest in the race, but do not interact. The most significant social exchange depicted is one man looking up from the bank, while another looks down from the trees. The compositional device of the tree branches emphasizes the division of the classes. There is no hostility shown in the illustration, instead Doré contrasts the weary expressions and ragged clothes of the lower class with the elegant clothes and healthy look of the upper class. *On the Road* (Figure 3.31), is an illustration from the chapter on the Derby. Again, it depicts the classes coming together. The upper class couple in the carriage are leered at by the lower class children. Doré highlights the children's envy and unrestrained behaviour without specifically indicating they will cause harm. Jerrold says of

³⁶ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 73. Ventouillac details them: "1st, The Fosses Communes, or public graves; in which the poor are buried gratuitously, side by side. 2nd, The temporary graves, which on payment of 50 francs, may be held for ten years. 3rd, The perpetual graves, at 250 francs per metre."

³⁷ See also *Palais de Justice, vers la Rue de la Barillerie*, *ibid*, facing p. 97, and *Eglise de St. Germain l' Auxerrois*, facing p. 79.

³⁸ As I shall discuss in Chapter Five.

³⁹ See also *Putney Bridge – The Return, London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. 60.

the Derby that “the ladies of the opera, and the Mile, and Almack's, are not here.”⁴⁰ This contradicts his comments about this being a mingling of all classes, since the Derby is obviously not an event at which the highest classes will be seen. In these statements, Jerrold acknowledges a gradation of the upper classes which Doré does not depict so clearly in his illustrations of the Derby. This is an instance where it is Jerrold who is more perceptive. As well as describing the mixture of the classes at these events, Jerrold uses comparisons of the leisure pursuits of the rich and poor to highlight class similarities. This occurs in the chapter “London at Play.” For example, Jerrold suggests that the music of the organ grinder is the opera of the lower classes.⁴¹ A similar example is his mention of the poor imitating the clothing of the rich. He writes: “in England all classes, except the agricultural, dress alike.”⁴² Despite these similarities and the fact that the classes in London may come together at certain times, their contact occurs, arguably, only on a superficial level. Indeed, Doré is much more interested in highlighting the divide between classes rather than depicting London as the well ordered and cohesive entity presented in Pugin's view of Paris. The rift between Doré and Jerrold's views is particularly apparent in this instance, as it is at other times in the book.

Pugin uses illustrations of various institutions to cement the idea that Paris is a well organized city. He makes it clear that these institutions are organized by the government, as is the case for various aspects of the city's commercial life. Pugin presents the view that the Parisian authorities are managing social problems in an efficient way, by depicting several views of prisons. An example of this is *L'Entree de la Prison de la Conciergerie* (Figure 3.32).⁴³ His view of prisons is an impersonal one. Once again, the figures are used for scale and human interest. The compositional distance he maintains makes it difficult for the viewer to respond emotionally to the illustration. By contrast, Pugin depicts a violent scene outside a prison in *Prison de l'Abbaye St. Germain* (Figure 3.33). This illustration depicts the scene of the massacre of the 2nd of September, 1792.⁴⁴ Pugin depicts a scuffle near the gate, but there is no bloodshed depicted and the presence of the guards is stressed. One of the asylums represented by Pugin is *Hospice de Bicêtre* (Figure 3.34). This illustrations shows “a general asylum for the indigent, a lunatic asylum, and a prison. . . . In the prison criminals under

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 68.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 175.

⁴² Ibid, p. 35.

⁴³ See also *Chapelle de la Prison de la Conciergerie, Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 119 and *L'Escalier du Palais de Justice*, facing p. 83.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 84.

sentence of death wait the result of their appeal to the Court of Cassation.”⁴⁵ As was the case with his views of business establishments, Pugin uses the solidity of the buildings to signify the power of those who control society. Though it is an asylum, it does not appear to be entirely unpleasant since the inmates are depicted outdoors. The inclusion of such an institution highlights the fact that the Parisian authorities possessed the means and the will to control and contain certain sections of society. Images such as these would have reassured the readers that, if they travelled to Paris, they would be safe. Socially undesirable aspects of life were controlled by the government. They could also feel confident that those who needed care were receiving it. The city is seen to be a healthy place. This is characteristic of Pugin's confident and celebratory view of the city as a well-run machine.

In *London: A Pilgrimage* Doré and Jerrold also represent institutions, though in a much more ambivalent way. Doré's representations of the prisons and the police are different from Pugin's. *Newgate – Exercise Yard* (Figure 3.35) represents the hard life experienced by the prisoners, later inspiring Van Gogh to copy it in a print and a painting, both entitled *Convict Prison* (February 1890).⁴⁶ The circle in which they stand emphasizes the repetitiveness of their routine and that there is no escape. The authority held by the prison guards is not emphasized. By focusing on the expressions of the prisoners, Doré expresses his sympathy for them. To him, they are vulnerable rather than simply brutal and callous. In this way, his view is more personal than Pugin's. Another example is *The Bull's-Eye* (Figure 3.36). This illustration emphasizes the humanity of both the policemen and lower class figures shown in the spotlight. Alan Wood wrote of these two illustrations that “Authority is always shown by Doré to be outnumbered and its potential overthrow is the constant implication.”⁴⁷ Authority is not as certain or as strong as in Pugin's illustrations. Doré does not suggest that the police are always right. The representation of hospitals and asylums in *London: A Pilgrimage* is much more intimate than Pugin's distant views. In contrast to *Paris and its Environs*, charity is seen as an initiative of individuals rather than the government. Donald J. Gray observes a

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 55. See also *Hospice de la Salpêtrière*, facing p. 97. Ventouillac writes: “The establishment had its origin in the vast number of paupers and mendicants which resorted to Paris in the minority of Louis XIV . . . They are at present occupied entirely by females, who are distributed into five grand sections, viz. 1. The *reposantes*, or women who have become old in service. 2. The indigent, blind, paralytic, infirm, and those 80 years of age and upwards. 3. Women of 70 years of age and upwards, infected persons, cancerous and incurable cases. 4. The infirmary, separated from the other buildings, and containing 400 beds. 5. The insane and epileptic. In the centre is a prison for females.” See also *Hôpital de l'Hotel Dieu*, facing p. 107. Ventouillac writes: “it now contains 12 wards for men, 11 for women, and 1260 beds.”

⁴⁶ See Woods' comments on Doré's illustration, p. 352.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 350.

tension, however, between Doré and Jerrold's depiction of charity: "While Doré is showing the desolate of London lining up in the rain outside refuges, or being subjected to scripture readings within them, Jerrold is congratulating his readers on the benevolence that helps the poor."⁴⁸ Doré's illustration *Marlborough House – Expecting the Prince* (Figure 3.37) represents a charity event held by the upper classes. They appear to be proud and self-satisfied. In the text, Jerrold lists how well equipped London is with hospitals and charities, of which there are a variety for many different purposes.⁴⁹ Doré presents only a few of these in his illustrations and some of his representations are fairly ambiguous. By choosing to represent them, he suggests that they are helpful in some way, even if they are not entirely successful as a solution to social problems. *Infant Hospital Patients* (Figure 5.16) is an example of the sentimental view of charity since it depicts sick children; clearly a subject chosen for its emotional impact.

There are times when Doré could be considered to be moralistic. An example of this is in *Scripture Reader in a Night Refuge* (Figure 3.38), but the people appear uninterested in the scripture reader and more absorbed in their own sufferings. Doré's focus is on the atmosphere of the scene as much as his subject. Jerrold's prose can be overly sentimental at times. An example of this is when he writes, "Charity puts forth her white hand in our midst. Her gentle wings are spread over every conceivable human misfortune."⁵⁰ Perhaps more effective are illustrations such as *Found in the Street* (Figure 3.39) which depicts sick children. Here, however, the atmosphere of the dark building gives the scene quite a different tone from the more sentimental hospital scene. In this case, it is the poor themselves offering charity to even worse off members of their own class. Doré's view is a sympathetic one and he represents the people as individuals. In the illustration *Refuge – Applying for Admittance* (Figure 3.40), it is unclear whether the group of people standing in the rain will be accepted or turned away. Doré shows charities and prisons less as assured solutions to social problems, than does Pugin, and goes further in his critique by depicting those who are left without

⁴⁸ Donald J. Gray, "Views and Sketches of London in the Nineteenth Century," p. 52.

⁴⁹ Jerrold (*London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 184) writes: "London boasts something like a hundred hospitals, a hundred homes and refuges for the houseless, fifty orphan asylums, over twenty institutions for the blind and deaf and dumb, fourteen for the relief of discharged prisoners, eighteen penitentiaries for fallen women, five asylums for incurables, over forty homes and institutions for poor sailors, and nearly twenty for soldiers; twelve charitable institutions for the benefit of poor Jews, and between thirty and forty relief societies for the clergy. Emigration, a dole for debtors, help to needlewoman, assistance to those most deplorable of creatures, friendless gentlewomen; comfort for unemployed nurses, protection for oppressed women, care for the insane – are among the objects for which Charity puts forth her white hand in our midst."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

help.⁵¹

For most of *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin represents Paris as an ordered and prosperous city. Nonetheless, his decision to include scenes from the July Monarchy at the end of the book adds another layer to his depiction of Paris. Here, Paris is seen in a state of disorder, though always within the constraints of the picturesque. The July Monarchy occurred during the preparation of *Paris and its Environs* and the illustrations relating to it occur at the end of the book. Although they appear almost as an afterthought, they are a striking feature of the book in that they depict a topical event that presents the city in a more negative light. It is uncertain whether or not Pugin was actually in Paris at the time of the revolution. Clive Wainwright suggests that “the Pugins and their party of pupils may actually have been in Paris during the 1830 revolution, but there are no letters for this date to substantiate this.”⁵² Likewise, there is no direct mention of their trip to Paris in A. W. N. Pugin's writings.⁵³ There is a slight gap between the date Pugin's illustrations of the July Monarchy were printed and the events of the July Monarchy itself. The first of Pugin's pictures was printed on November 1 1830 and the last on July 1 1831. The slight gap may have been because Pugin wished to avoid controversy or, just as likely, because the time frame he and the other artists were working within, to produce and print the monthly installments, necessarily introduced such delays. The revolution was also treated by French caricaturists at the time.⁵⁴ It was also the subject of the book *Paris and its Historical Scenes*, which included a number of steel and wood engravings of scenes from the July Monarchy by an unnamed French artist.⁵⁵ An example from this book is *Barrière St Martin, 28th July 1830* (Figure 3.41). This illustration is not overly violent, though it depicts a building on fire and broken wheels as a background to revolutionary activities. Pugin's illustrations on this subject are similar in their form and subject matter. Together, these eight illustrations tell a partial story of the revolution; before, during and after. This is the closest Pugin gets to a narrative form in the book.⁵⁶

Pugin begins with depictions of military schools where the soldiers trained. An example of

⁵¹ I shall look at these scenes at the close of this chapter.

⁵² Clive Wainwright, “A. W. N. Pugin and France” in *A. W. N. Pugin. Master of the Gothic Revival*, p. 70.

⁵³ My thanks go to Dr Margaret Belcher for providing me with this information.

⁵⁴ Collingham (p. 182) writes, “*La Caricature*, which began like so many other news enterprises in the autumn of 1830, employed Daumier, Grandville, Mourier, Carlet and Devéria amongst others . . . The September laws on caricature make it impossible for *La Caricature* to continue.”

⁵⁵ G. L. Craik, *Paris and its Historical Scenes*, 2 Vols (Charles Knight: London, 1831).

⁵⁶ I shall discuss the narrative of both *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* in Chapter Five.

this is *Ecole Polytechnique* (Figure 3.42).⁵⁷ Ventouillac refers to the fact that the pupils of this school played a crucial part in the revolution.⁵⁸ The illustration is very patriotic in its depiction of students waving a tricolour flag, a symbol of the revolution. Despite the subject matter, it is not a scene of utter chaos. Other illustrations depict memorials created after the events of the revolution. An example of this is *Tombeau consacré à la mémoire de ceux qui périrent dans la révolution de 1830 (près du Louvre)* (Figure 3.43).⁵⁹ This scene gave Pugin the chance to create an attractive scene with flags and figures in front of the building. Again, the flags give the illustration a patriotic tone. Though the building appears to have been damaged, it is not in a state of ruin. This suggests that Pugin feels the city can withstand anything, even revolution. Other illustrations deal more specifically with the events of the revolution. Pugin always makes choices with views to his readership, and even within his more dramatic scenes, does not depict anything they might find too upsetting. *Départ de la Populace, Pour Rambouillet* (Figure 3.44) is a dramatic scene of revolutionary activity that contains many figures.⁶⁰ Here, the people depicted are shown to have some power. However, Pugin's composition remains highly ordered, and in keeping with the picturesque, the revolutionaries do not appear threatening. *Caserne Suisse, Rue de Babylone, 29 Juillet, 1830* (Figure 3.45) is the most dramatic, in the book, in terms of action.⁶¹ Pugin depicts burning buildings and violence. A figure lies, dead or dying, on the ground as the flames engulf the structure. Despite this, the building still stands very solidly and its destruction does not seem imminent. Again, Pugin uses orderly compositions and stresses the solidity of the architecture to emphasize the strength of the city in the face of revolutionary chaos. The interleaving of calmer illustrations next to those depicting violence also suggests that the city is enduring and stable beneath these fleeting eruptions of revolutionary fervour. Ventouillac does not express a direct political opinion either in favour or against the events of the revolution. Similarly, Pugin's illustrations are documentary and remain distanced and neutral.

⁵⁷ See also *Champ de Mars et Ecole Militaire, Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 167. Ventouillac mentions that during the July Monarchy the Swiss Guards went there and “endured a systematic attack, the effects of which are still visible on the columns of the centre.”

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 195.

⁵⁹ See also *Tombeau consacré à la mémoire de ceux qui périrent 29 Juillet, 1830*, ibid, facing p. 191.

⁶⁰ Ventouillac (p. 185) gives the historical details of this scene: “Our plate exhibits the group as collected at the Pont Royal, the south-west angle of the Tuileries being seen in the back ground. We need not detail the sequel.” See also *Entrée du Palais de Philippe I, à Neuilly*, ibid, facing p. 187. This illustration depicts the Duc d' Orleans place of retreat during the July Monarchy. It is a very calm scene with figures conversing at leisure and several horses in the stable. Ventouillac writes: “It seems also that an intention to arrest the Duc d' Orleans was entertained early on that day, but that the party could not advance over the celebrated bridge of Neuilly, it being barricaded by the people. His Royal Highness walked from this house into Paris at 9 o' clock on the Saturday morning, to take possession of the throne of forty kings.”

⁶¹ See also *Incendie de la Barrière St. Denis, 29 Juillet, 1830*, ibid, facing p. 199.

Doré depicts the city in a negative light much more readily than Pugin. This occurs most vividly in his illustrations of the slums of London. Where in *Paris and its Environs* all of the lower classes were engaged in work or taken care of by institutions, Doré shows those who are left out on the streets to fend for themselves. He uses their case to suggest that the city is not a smoothly running and cohesive entity. One of the major influences on the way Doré engages with the social problems of London was Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. Published in 1849, this account was one of the first to expose social injustice and the effects of poverty in the capital. As Peter Quennell writes, Mayhew “had little sympathy with benevolence or philanthropy as answers to the problem of poverty. Nor did he seek to blame the poor for their own misfortunes, a more acceptable doctrine in 1861 than it was in 1849.”⁶² Mayhew's book was accompanied by some small woodcuts of the various people living on the streets of London. In his illustrations, Doré goes much further than Mayhew.⁶³ One of the reasons for Doré's decision to depict poverty realistically was the influence of the Franco-Prussian war. Throughout the production of *London: A Pilgrimage*, Doré was for a time unable to return to London due to war. Woods suggests that the political situation of France meant he was more likely to see English society in terms of class conflict.⁶⁴ Woods writes of Doré's representation of poverty that he “offers no solutions, makes no complacent moral statements, refuses to rely on sentiment.”⁶⁵ These images may not have directly effected social change, but they were quite shocking to readers of the book, as indicated by its critical reception.

One of the most reproduced of these images is *Over London – By Rail* (Figure 5.9).⁶⁶ It provides a bird's-eye view of one of the slum areas of the city. The repetition of the forms of the buildings including the chimneys and fences creates a feeling of claustrophobia and highlights the hopelessness of the lives of many of the poor in London. There is no escape from it. In *Roofless!* (Figure 3.46) the tired and weary group appear very small against the building which appears to be very solid.⁶⁷ Where for Pugin this was a reassuring thing, in

⁶² Peter Quennell (ed), *Mayhew's London, Being Selections from 'London Labour and the London Poor'* (London: The Pilot Press, 1949, first published 1851), p. 9.

⁶³ I shall consider Doré's use of melodrama in Chapter Five.

⁶⁴ Woods, p. 351.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 356.

⁶⁶ I shall compare this to a scene from *The Inferno* in Chapter Five.

⁶⁷ See also *Asleep in the Streets*, *London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. 141 and *Waifs and Strays*, p. 142.

London: A Pilgrimage the unyielding architecture functions as a prison for the poor.⁶⁸

Orange Court, Drury Lane (Figure 3.47) provides an even more dramatic instance. The figures are shown within a very narrow street, which stretches into the distance with no end in sight. The fact that these figures are so small in comparison to their surroundings adds to the impression of their helplessness. In these illustrations, Doré collapses the space between the subject and viewer. In *Houndsditch* (Figure 3.48) the men, women and children who look bored and hopeless ignore the viewer.⁶⁹ Their faces are weary and drawn and Doré emphasizes the shadows around their eyes. Doré provides some insight into the plight of the London poor and represents them as 'real people' rather than generic types. In other illustrations, the lower class figures confront the viewer defiantly. They are given power and autonomy. They may be vulnerable and downtrodden, but they are not merely objects of pity for those more fortunate. An example of this is *Wentworth Street, Whitechapel* (Figure 3.49), which depicts groups of people crowded along on a narrow street. Many of them meet the viewer's gaze with suspicious expressions. The viewer is very much made to feel like an intruder. Indeed, this is what Doré and Jerrold felt when they were on the scene making notes and sketches for the book.⁷⁰ The atmosphere of *Bluegate Fields* (Figure 2.23) is much more explicitly hostile. The way that the figures confront the viewer reveals their power and highlights the threat they would have posed to the upper classes. They are a dangerous presence in a way the figures in Pugin's illustrations of the July Monarchy never are.

Pugin and Doré represent the city in very different ways. Where Pugin celebrates the city, Doré critiques it. In each artist's publication, the difference in the representation of social and political issues provides evidence of the move towards a greater social Realism over the course of the nineteenth century. Later in the century, the upper classes were much more aware of social problems and many felt an obligation towards providing service in the form of charity and philanthropy. Pugin depicts Paris as an ordered and prosperous city with a strong economy, an elegant and cultured upper class and a compliant lower class. He suggests that outstanding social problems are well taken care of by the efforts of the government. Pugin's view of the city is relatively conservative and harmonizes with the picturesque agenda. His engagement with social issues is much more superficial than Doré's and is much less controversial. Doré, on the other hand, represents the city in terms of class divisions.

⁶⁸ See Francoise Martin, "L'Image de Londres chez Dickens et Gustave Doré", pp. 26-27.

⁶⁹ See also *Dudley Street, Seven Dials, London: A Pilgrimage*, facing p. 158.

⁷⁰ I shall discuss the hostility they experienced in London in Chapter Five.

London: A Pilgrimage illustrates Doré's use of the form of an illustrated book to make a powerful social critique. Contact between the classes is largely superficial and charities do not reach everyone. The city is very much divided between the splendour of the West and the poverty of the East, and all the citizens of the city are victims of the effects of industrialization. However, this is tempered by Doré's admiration for the heroism of workers and the elegance of the upper classes. His views of the poverty, which existed in London at the time, are both dramatic and challenging, and are at times at odds with Jerrold's much more optimistic text. Pugin and Doré's specific views of Paris and London can be compared with other English views of Paris and French views of London, as I shall consider in Chapter Four.



Figure 3.1 *View taken from the Pont des Arts*



Figure 3.2 *Barrière de la Cunette*



Figure 3.3 *La Bourse*



Figure 3.4 *Poste Royale*

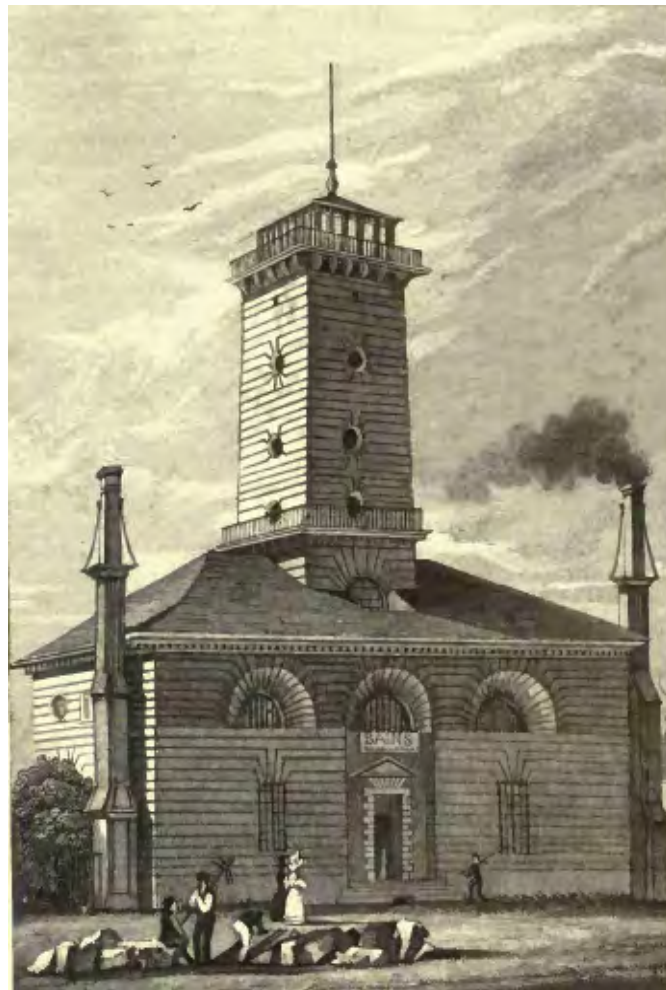


Figure 3.5 *Pompe à Feu, Gros Caillou*

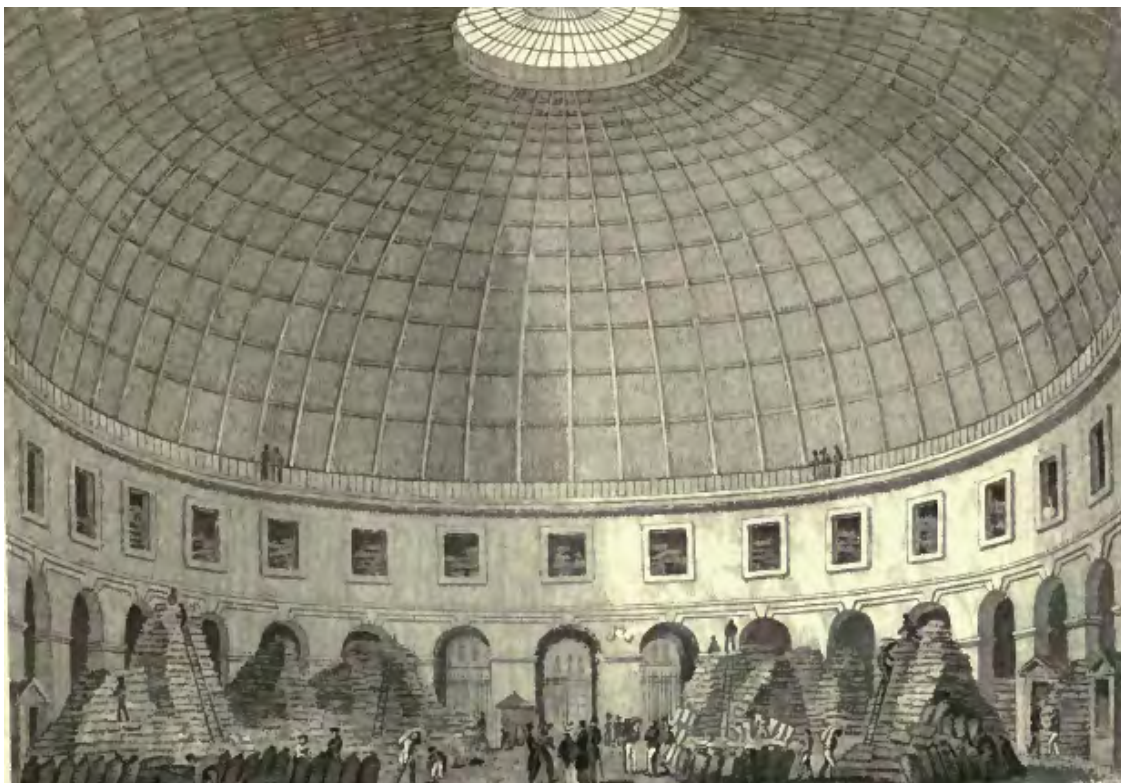


Figure 3.6 *Halle au Blé*



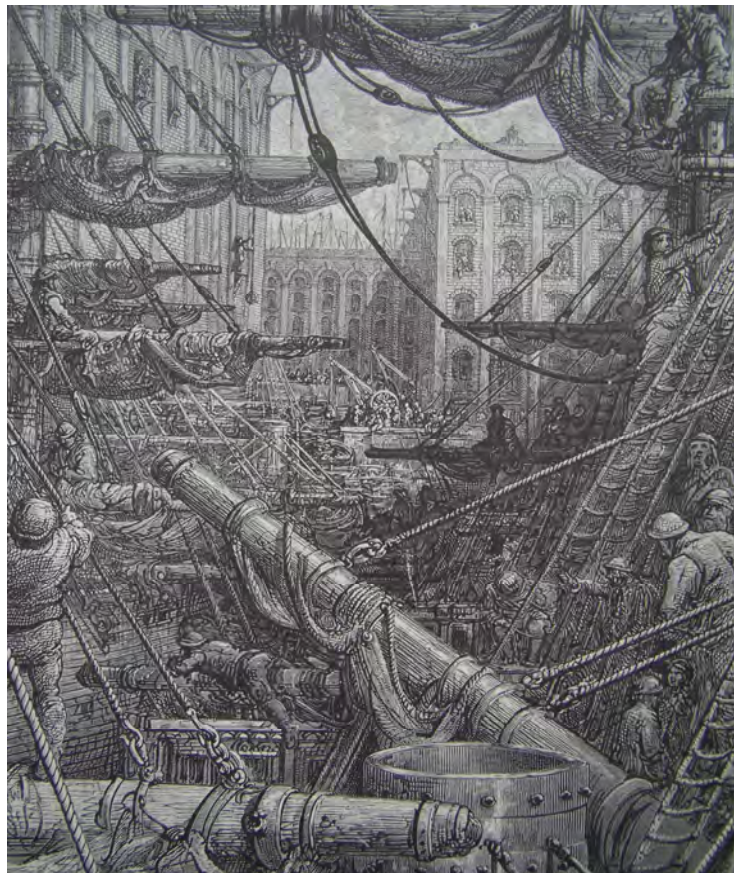
Figure 3.7 *Halle aux Vins*



Figure 3.8 *Fontaine des Innocents*



Figure 3.9 *A Riverside Street*



3.10 *Inside the Docks*

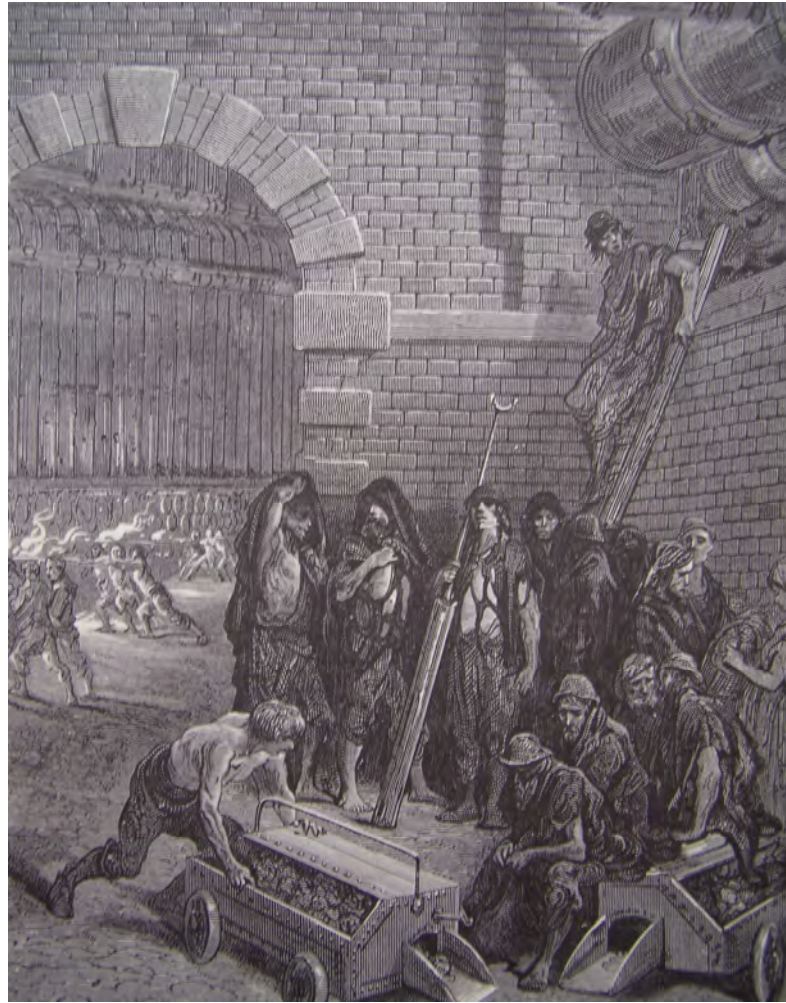


Figure 3.11 *The Lambeth Gasworks*

From Westminster to Vauxhall, past the gloomy Millbank Prison on the Middlesex shore—and the coarse Lambeth potteries on the Surrey



side, we may hasten. The river shows fewer boats and barges: but lines of tall chimneys still, to Vauxhall. Between the Westminster Road and the old spot where the coarse revelries of our grandfathers were held,

Figure 3.12 *Lambeth Potteries*

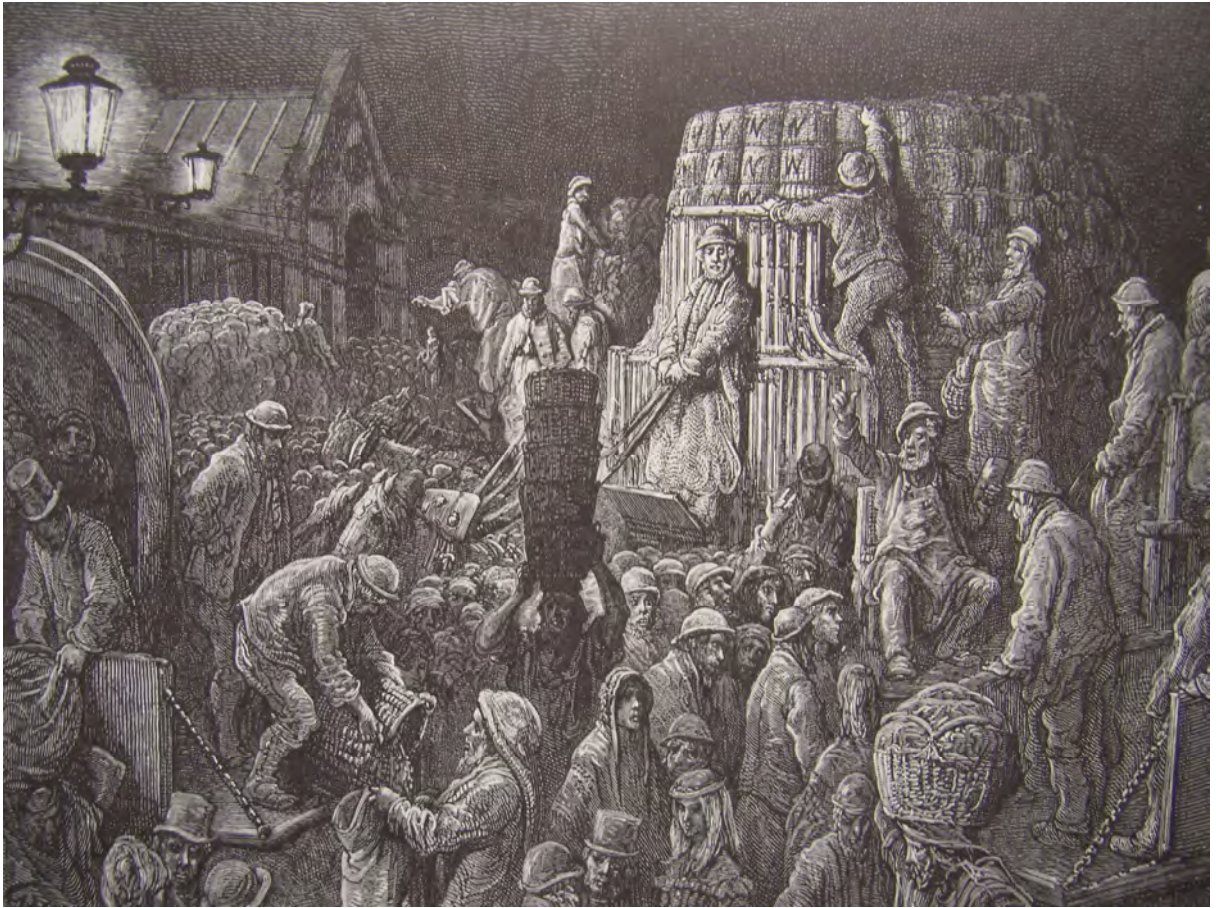


Figure 3.13 *Covent Garden Market – Early Morning*



Figure 3.14 *The Royal Exchange*



Figure 3.15 *The Rag Merchant's Home – Coulston Street, Whitechapel*



Figure 3.16 *Jewish Butcher's – Aldgate*



Figure 3.17 *New Cut – Old Clothes Mart*

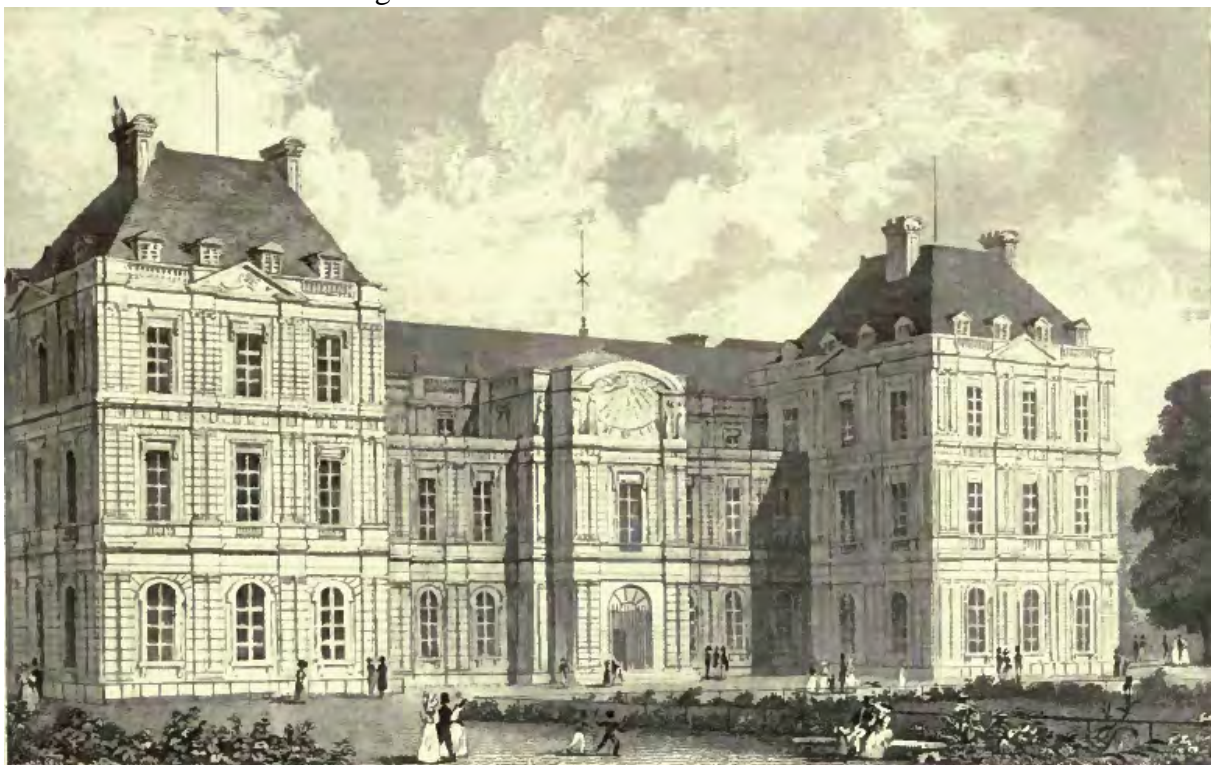


Figure 3.18 *Palace of the Luxembourg*



Figure 3.19 *Café Turc*

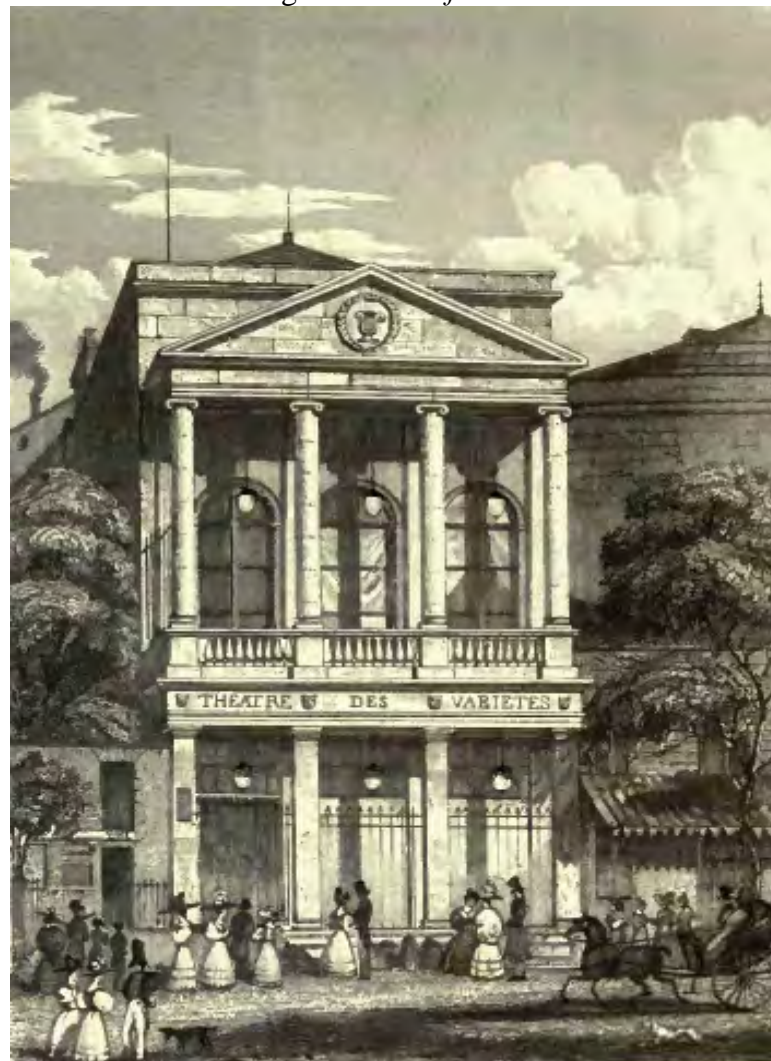


Figure 3.20 *Théâtre des Variétés*



Figure 3.21 *Bibliothèque Royale*



Figure 3.22 *Galerie de Francois I, Fontainebleau*



Figure 3.23 *L'Observatoire*



Figure 3.24 *Maison de Francois I aux Champs Elysées*



Figure 3.25 *Bains Vigniers, Pont Royal*



Figure 3.26 *A Ball at the Mansion House*



Figure 3.27 *The Goldsmith's at Dinner*



Figure 3.28 *Zoological Gardens – The Parrot Walk*



Figure 3.29 *Château d' Eau, vers Palais Royal*



Figure 3.30 *The River Bank – Under the Trees*

sharp-faced, swaggering betting man; the trim, clean groom with a flower in his button-hole; the prosperous, heavy-cheeked tradesman; the ostentatious clerk; the shambling street singer; the hard, coarse-visaged costermonger; the pale



and serious artisan; the frolicsome apprentice in flaming neck-tie; the bandy-legged jockey; the *nouveau-riche* smug in his ostentation; the merchant

Figure 3.31 *On the Road*



Figure 3.32 *L'Entree de la Prison de la Conciergerie*



Figure 3.33 *Prison de l'Abbaye St. Germain*



Figure 3.34 *Hospice de Bicêtre*

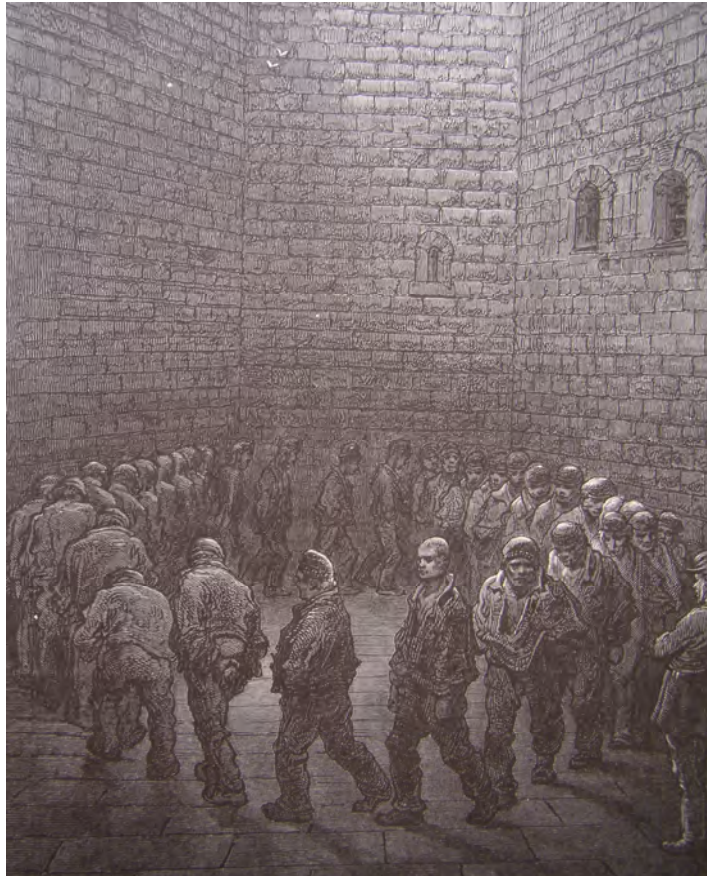


Figure 3.35 – *Newgate – Exercise Yard*

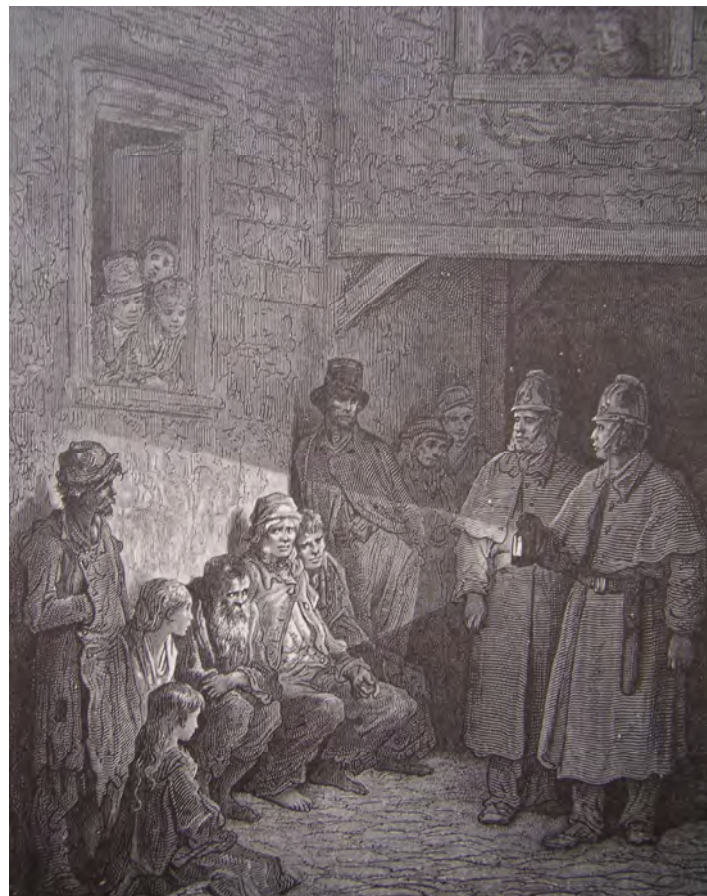


Figure 3.36 *The Bull's-Eye*

route for Willis's, or the Freemason's, or the London Tavern, on one of those missions of Charity which were the delight of Albert the Good,



and have become among the most valued inheritances of his son. Among those who make their obeisances to him as he passes are many for whose

Figure 3.37 *Marlborough House – Expecting the Prince*

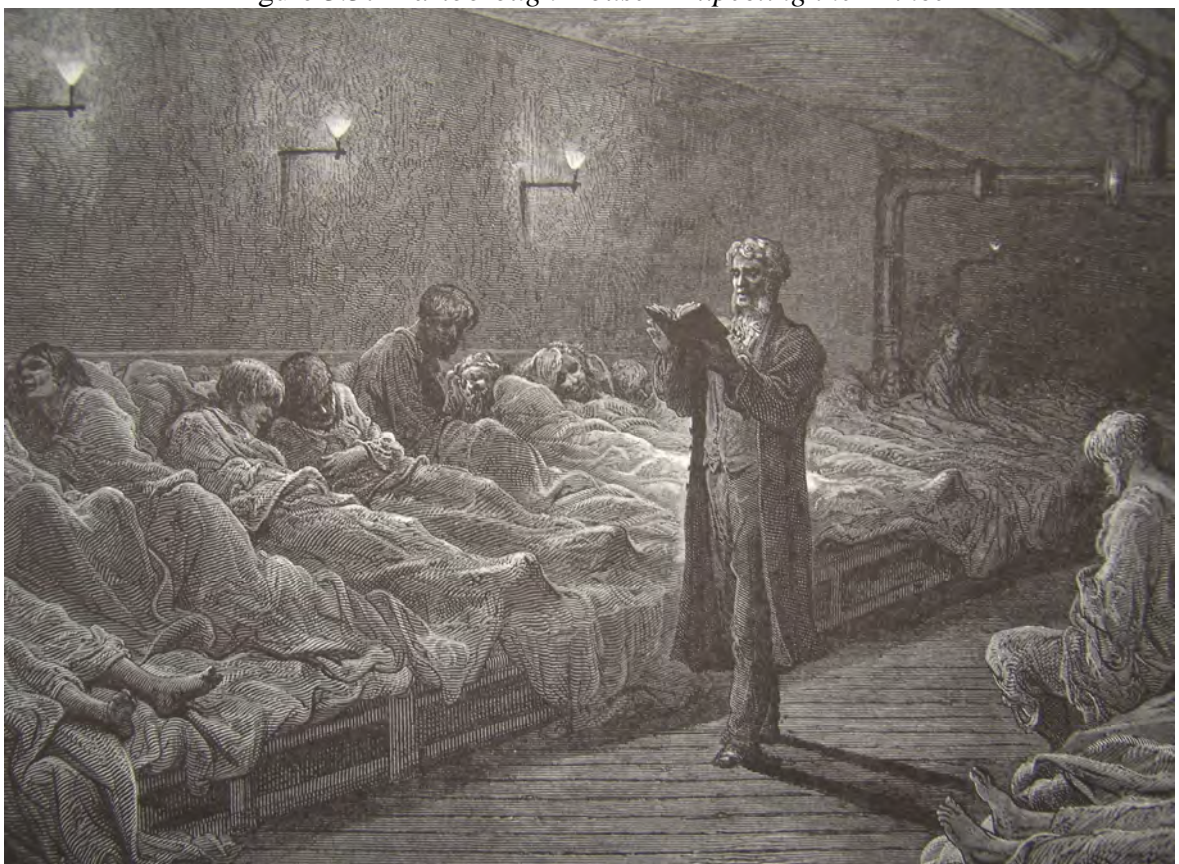


Figure 3.38 *Scripture Reader in a Night Refuge*



Figure 3.39 *Found in the Street*



Figure 3.40 *Refuge – Applying for Admittance*



Figure 3.41 *Barrière St. Martin, 28th July 1830*



Figure 3.42 *Ecole Polytechnique*



Figure 3.43 *Tombeau consacré à la mémoire de ceux qui périrent dans la révolution de 1830 (près du Louvre)*



Figure 3.44 *Départ de la Populace, Pour Rambouillet*



Figure 3.45 *Caserne Suisse, Rue de Babylone, 29 Juillet, 1830*

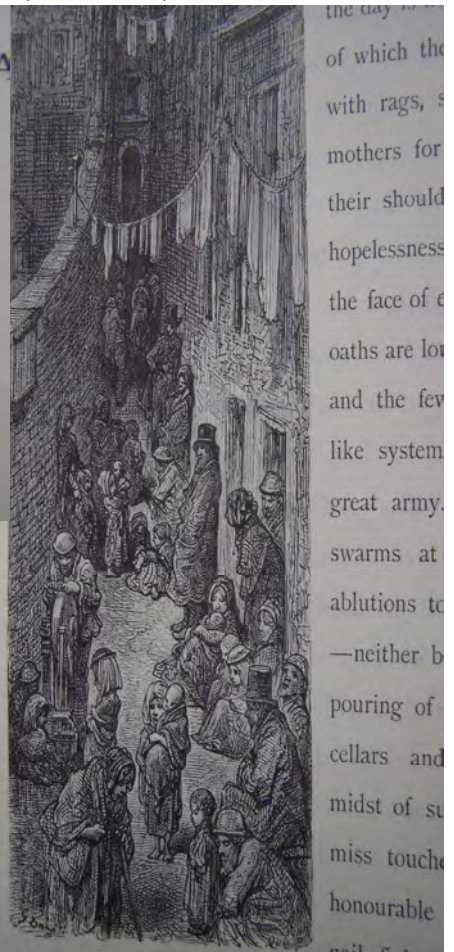


Figure 3.46 *Roofless!* Figure 3.47 *Orange Court, Drury Lane*

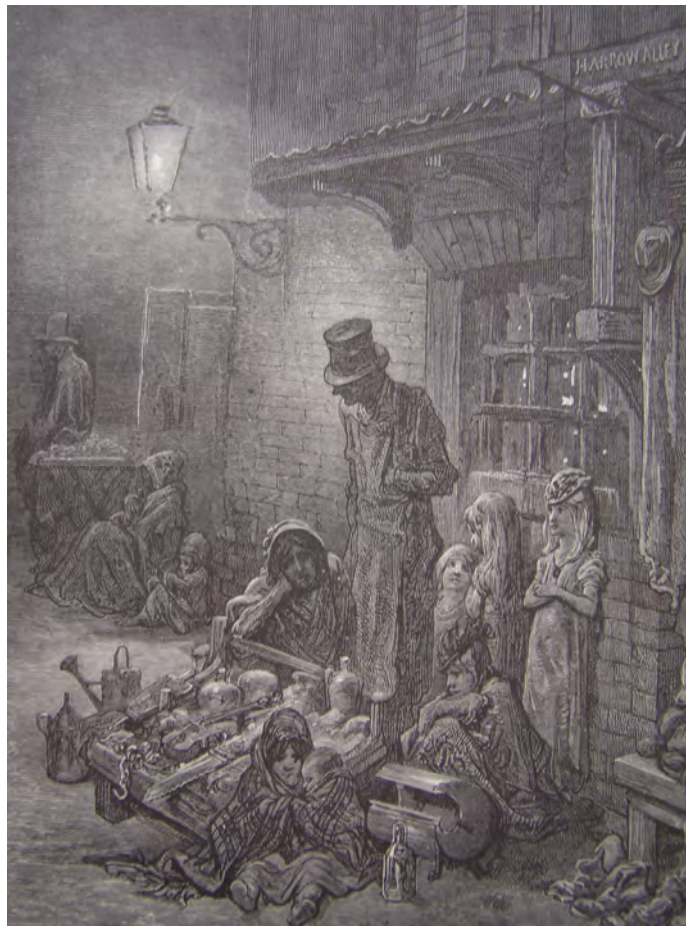


Figure 3.48 *Houndsditch*



Figure 3.49 *Wentworth Street, Whitechapel*

Chapter Four: A cross channel comparison: English views of Paris, French views of London

The views of Paris and London presented in *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* are comparable to other English views of Paris, and French views of London, in the nineteenth century. After a general consideration of the movements of artists and writers between the two capitals in the period, I shall develop this chapter by considering English representations of Paris, including those of Frances Trollope and William Makepeace Thackeray. I shall consider Pugin's conception of the city in light of their depictions and also expand on his book's intended audience and reception. I shall then consider French views of London including those of Gavarni (H. G. S. Chevalier) and Hippolyte Taine. I shall compare Doré's illustrations of London to their representations and expand on the way various English critics criticised *London: A Pilgrimage*. These comparisons will help place the two publications which are my focus within a wider context of French and English views of one another in the nineteenth century.

The movement of a large number of artists and writers across the channel in the nineteenth century led to artists from one city representing another. Travel between London and Paris took place within the context of greater tourism around Europe and further afield. It was due to the political upheavals in France, from Napoleon Bonaparte, who became emperor in 1804, to the July Monarchy and The Franco-Prussian War in the nineteenth century, that many French artists and writers made the journey from France to England. However, during times of peace, there were just as many English travelling to France. As Simon Houfe observes: "The assimilation of ideas from the continent and particularly France, which had been something of a one way traffic in the eighteenth century, had become a more healthy cross-fertilisation by the second decade of the nineteenth."¹ This movement between the capitals was reflected in the illustrative arts, although it was often a case of one culture viewing the other from some distance as much as a genuine cross-cultural dialogue. Individual artists brought their own cultural background to what they were illustrating and indeed illustrations were often adapted culturally for a particular audience. Francoise Forster-Hahn writes that "illustration manifests intricate links to the political and cultural fabric of its own period."² An example of this is the way illustrations of *Faust* were adapted for different

¹ Houfe, p. 76.

² Francoise Forster-Hahn, "A hero for all seasons? Illustrations for Goethe's "Faust" and the course of modern

purposes and audiences.³ In terms of English representations of Paris and French views of London, the audience was either those of the city in which the artist was living (as was primarily the case with Pugin), or those in the city they were visiting (as was the case with Doré). Claire Hancock has noted the lack of understanding between the people of the two capitals and how they enjoyed taking a critical view of one another:

Years of war made the channel wider than ever, and it had become necessary for the welfare of the Parisians that London be declared inferior to their beloved Paris, and highly pleasant to the ear of Londoners to hear Paris's charms downgraded in favour of the less startling but more stable qualities of the heart of the empire.⁴

A lack of understanding of a culture could cause it to be judged mistakenly by an outsider, but if the same outsider was disinterested, as was the case with Doré, they could show it in a truthful light rather than a flattering one which erased its negative qualities. Views of France could be as pleasing to an English audience as views of their own city. English writers such as Trollope and Thackeray often admired the elegance of Paris but found the people of the city wanting in their morality. A representation of Paris could thus allow an English reader to feel superior rather than forcing them to question themselves in the way a view of their own city might cause them to. In any case, an outside depiction of a city would emphasize the things which made it distinctive. While many French representations of London were aimed at a French audience, some of the most interesting are those aimed at an English audience. When illustrating their own city, English artists tended to avoid depicting anything controversial. An example of an earlier view of London by an English artist is, of course, *The Microcosm of London* by Pugin and Rowlandson. Another is Leigh Hunt's *The Town* (1848), the opening advertisement for which announces: "In this volume entitled 'The Town,' the reader will find an account of London, partly topographical and historical, but chiefly recalling the memories of remarkable characters and events associated with its streets between St. Paul's and St. James."⁵ Hunt ventured into some of London's poorer areas, but not to the extent Doré did. Hunt's book contained some small wood engravings as illustrations, though nowhere near as many as Doré's book. French artists were not afraid to depict the London slums. Despite the fact that critics did not always approve of the efforts of French artists to illustrate their city, these views were of great interest to the English public.

German history" in *In Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990), p. 51.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Claire Hancock, "Your city does not speak my language: cross-channel views of Paris and London in the early nineteenth century", *Planning Perspectives*, v 12, n 1, 1 January, 1997, p 2.

⁵ Leigh Hunt, *The Town: Its Memorable Characters and Events* (London: Charles Knight, 1848), advertisement. Another book of London views is Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's *Mighty London* (c. 1855) which had a similar agenda to Boys' and Pugin's views. These views tended to celebrate the city.

As an outsider, Doré could show them their city in a new light.

A variety of English artists and writers depicted Paris in the nineteenth century. The grand tour of Europe, and Paris in particular, was an institution. Thomas Girtin and Thomas Shotter-Boys were two of the earliest nineteenth-century English illustrators to depict Paris. Girtin's series of aquatints on Paris entitled *Views of Paris and its Environs* was produced in 1802, while in 1839, Thomas Shotter-Boys who had arrived in Paris in 1825, published *Picturesque Architecture in France*, a series of chromolithographs.⁶ Compared with Pugin's book, these works were both topographical in nature and narrower in scope. Perhaps even more conspicuous than these books were the accounts of travel and culture in Paris by Frances Trollope and William Makepeace Thackeray. Trollope recorded observations from her travels in Paris in the two volumes of *Paris and the Parisians in 1835*.⁷ This book was published only a few years apart from Pugin's *Paris and its Environs*, but, as I point out below, is quite different. Thackeray published his account of travel and culture in Paris in *The Paris Sketch Book* of 1840.⁸ In Chapter Three, I briefly looked at one of the illustrations for George L. Craik's book *Paris and its Historical Scenes*. While these are comparable to Pugin's scenes from the revolution, they are by a French artist and are not aimed at an English visitor to the city as are those by Pugin. Here, I shall discuss Trollope and Thackeray's views alongside Pugin's as they too are aimed at English visitors to the city. However, they are more critical than Pugin's representation of Paris and demonstrate that there was no single 'English view' of Paris. They do, however, make for a more informative comparison than Girtin and Shotter-Boys' views.

Frances Trollope was born in Bristol in 1779. She developed a reputation as a popular travel writer and novelist.⁹ The two volumes of *Paris and the Parisians in 1835* deal with such themes as the society, culture and attractions of Paris just after the events of the July Monarchy. It is a humorous account of travel in the capital. Trollope is generous in her praise of the elegance of Paris, expressing her admiration for the architecture and the physical

⁶ See William M. Ivins Jr., "A Note on Some Old English Architectural Prints", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, v 17, n 3, March, 1922, pp. 64-65. Boys also published a work called *Original Views of London as it is in 1842*. See also Houfe, p. 76.

⁷ See Frances Trollope, *Paris and the Parisians in 1835*. 2 Vols (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1836).

⁸ See William Makepeace Thackeray, *Sketchbooks. The Paris Sketchbook. The Irish Sketchbook. Notes of a journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo. etc. etc.* (London, 1840).

⁹ *DNB*, p. 408. Her other well known travel account is *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, published in 1832.

surroundings of the city. She comments on its spaciousness: “Whoever laid out the boulevards, the quays, the gardens of Paris, surely remembered, as they did so, how necessary space was for the assembling together of her social citizens.”¹⁰ This spaciousness would have been obvious when compared to England. As I noted in Chapter Two, even at this early stage, civic planning was leading to the creation of a more rationally ordered layout of streets and buildings in Paris. Trollope goes on to describe many of the attractions which were favoured by English visitors and also depicted by Pugin. These include Notre Dame, the Gardens of the Tuileries and the Column of the Place Vendôme.¹¹ Like Pugin, Trollope also describes less famous places. These include an establishment for “insane patients” at Vanves, La Morgue and the Hospice de la Salpêtrière. She seems to take a horrified enjoyment in having a glimpse at such establishments.¹² Trollope describes the main attractions in detail, for instance writing of the Tuileries gardens:

I love these fondly-nurtured princely exotics, the old orange-trees, ranged in their long stately rows; and better still do I love the marble groups, that stand so nobly, sometimes against the bright blue sky, and sometimes half concealed in the dark setting of the trees. Every thing seems to speak of taste, luxury, and elegance.¹³

Trollope describes a group of people she observed as “a royalist, a doctrinaire, and a republican.”¹⁴ This group is represented in one of the plates in her book, drawn and etched by the French artist Auguste Hervieu, *Morning at the Tuileries Gardens* (Figure 4.1). The figures are identifiable by their costume, and their facial expressions indicate the interplay between them. The attention to detail in this illustration, and Trollope's accompanying description of the scene, suggests that she wished to present a close and relatively considered view of French society. The cemetery of the Père Lachaise also attracts her attention. She comments on the contrast between the beautiful greenery and the monument and also notes that the French custom of mourning in public is strange to the English.¹⁵ The monument of Abelard and Heloise in particular attracts her attention. She finds it to be in bad taste, writing that “Nothing can assimilate worse than do its Gothic form and decorations with every object around it the paltry plaster tablet too, that has been stuck upon it for the purpose of recording

¹⁰ Trollope, Vol. 1, p. 259.

¹¹ Other attractions they both include in their books include Versailles, Cascade de St. Cloud, Père Lachaise, Palace of the Luxembourg, Chapelle Expiatoire, Palais Royal, La Sainte Chapelle, Palais de Justice, Académie Royale de Musique, Jardin des Plantes, St. Denis, Chamber of Deputies, Marché des Innocents and the Hôtel des Monnaies.

¹² See Trollope, Vol. 1, pp. 307-360 and Vol. 2, pp. 233-34.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 105.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 189.

the story of the tomb rather than of those who lie buried in it.”¹⁶ These comments emphasize cultural differences between the French and English.

While Trollope is generous in her praise, she is not altogether uncritical. She is not afraid to compare French establishments unfavourably to their English equivalents. She writes of London's Zoological Gardens that they “are in few points inferior, in many equal, and in some greatly superior, to the long and deservedly celebrated Jardin des Plantes.”¹⁷ Trollope goes further, drawing attention to the less savoury aspects of life in Paris:

In a city where everything intended to meet the eye is converted into graceful ornament; where the shops and the coffee-houses have the air of fairy palaces . . . you are shocked and disgusted at every step you take, or at every gyration that the wheels of your chariot can make, by sights and smells that may not be described.¹⁸

In this way she presents a view of Paris as a city which appears beautiful on first impression, but is not quite all its initial appearance would suggest. As Claire Hancock has pointed out, many English observers noted the deceptive appearance of Paris.¹⁹ Trollope goes on to describe the noise made on the uneven roads, the poorly lit streets, and the want of drains and sewers.²⁰ While Trollope finds members of Parisian society to be admirable in their appearance, she writes of the morality of the Parisians as being less so:

It is impossible not to allow that there exists in France a very perceptible want of refinement as compared to England. No Englishman, I believe, has ever returned from a visit to Paris without adding his testimony to this fact; and not withstanding the Gallomania so prevalent amongst us, all acknowledge that, however striking may be the elegance and grace of the highest classes, there is still a national want of that uniform delicacy so highly valued by all ranks, above the very lowest, with us.²¹

Hervieu's illustration *Soirée* (Figure 4.2) is, in some ways, a reflection of this. It depicts a Parisian party with an elegantly attired group reading and chatting. The relations between a man and woman engaged in close conversation seem to be very friendly and perhaps freer than the English were used to. Trollope also notes the differing manifestations of poverty within the two capitals. In Paris, there are not as many poor people on the streets as in London, but the those who exist have “a wild, bold, eye, that rather seeks than turns from every passing glance . . .”²² Again, this is not at all the case with Pugin's presentation of the city. On the whole, Trollope's view of Paris is a detailed, often humorous and critical one. As

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 192.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 232.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁹ See Hancock, p. 6.

²⁰ See Trollope, Vol. 1, pp. 112-119.

²¹ Ibid, p. 228.

²² Ibid, pp. 368-369.

much as she admires the city, she also takes pleasure in pointing out its less attractive features.

William Makepeace Thackeray's view of Paris in *The Paris Sketchbook* is in many respects similar to Trollope's. It is also a humorous account of travel in the capital. Thackeray was born in England in 1811, and developed a reputation as a writer of both fiction and non-fiction. The most famous of his novels is *Vanity Fair*, published in 1847.²³ *The Paris Sketchbook* is a series of written sketches on the subject of the capital. It includes a number of small illustrations by Thackeray, most of which are caricatures. Some of the pieces are fictional sketches of Parisian characters, while others are fact-based observations of travel in the city, Parisian society, government and public events, and his opinions on French art and literature. Like Trollope, Thackeray draws attention to the physical appearance of Paris. He contrasts its elegant appearance with that of London, writing: "The street which we enter, that of the Faubourg St. Denis, presents a strange contrast to the dark uniformity of a London street . . . Here, on the contrary, is a thousand times more life and colour." He goes on to observe: "you cross the Boulevard, which gives a glimpse of trees and sunshine, and gleaming white buildings" and describes the Rue de Bourbon Villeneuve as "a dirty street, which seems interminable."²⁴ Thackeray thus reiterates Trollope's view of Paris being, on the whole, much brighter than London, but, like her, he does not turn a blind eye to the less savoury aspects of many Parisian streets.

In common with Trollope, Thackeray draws attention to what he believes is a want of morality among the French. He makes statements such as "in that metropolis flourish a greater number of native and exotic swindlers than are to be found in any other European Nursery."²⁵ Thackeray goes on to express a negative view of the work of authors such as Balzac, Sand and Hugo. He believes that such literature has a corrupting influence, stating: "Surely, the negatives of the old days were far less dangerous than the assertions of the present."²⁶ This is highlighted by one of his illustrations, *Mr Pogson's Temptation* (Figure 4.3). It accompanies a description of Mr Pogson, who pretends to be a soldier to impress a scheming Baroness. Despite this, Thackeray does admit that the French are, in some ways, superior to the English. For example, he will allow that French painting is better than English

²³ DNB, p. 191.

²⁴ Thackeray, p. 14.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 18.

²⁶ See Ibid, pp. 188-189.

painting.²⁷ He also notes the elegant appearance of French high society: “with the French, there are more lights and prettier dresses.”²⁸ In terms of the politics of France, he expresses the English dislike of Napoleon, writing of the “hatred and horror . . . for the man whom we used to call the 'bloody Corsican upstart and assassin'.”²⁹ These views demonstrate Thackeray's admiration for the surfaces of life in the French capital, but also his feeling of moral and political superiority over the French, which is quite similar to Trollope's.

Pugin's view of Paris is similar to those of Trollope and Thackeray in some respects, but in general he glosses over any less than desirable aspects of life, in the capital, and emphasizes those more appealing. This is in keeping with the populist agenda of the book. Pugin treats even the less beautiful things as curiosities or novelties and revels in the spectacles and unusual sights the city presents to a visitor. Pugin was born in Paris, so his view of Paris is not that of a foreigner as is Doré's view of London. Pugin's perspective is still, in many ways, a view from an English perspective as he was very influenced by living in London and the art produced there. Indeed, he was joined by his son and his pupils who were all born in England. Like Trollope and Thackeray, Pugin emphasizes the elegant appearance of Paris. Indeed this is the agenda of most the illustrations in the book. He depicts the wide and spacious streets of Paris over the course of the book. An example of this is the illustration *Rue de Rivoli* (Figure 2.9). The spaciousness of the street is emphasized and the surface of the ground looks clean and even. The carriage looks to be travelling smoothly. This is a direct contrast to Trollope's comment on the roads. The building is very white in colour as is pointed out by Thackeray. Pugin depicts all the attractions his viewers would expect to see and consider quintessentially Parisian. These include those visited by Trollope, as discussed previously. Pugin's depiction of the Tuileries gardens is *Jardins des Tuileries, Près de la Grande Entrée* (Figure 4.4). Pugin's illustration is different from Hervieu's illustration and Trollope's accompanying description. Where Hervieu and Trollope present a close examination of the manners and habits of the Parisians, Pugin instead gives precedence to the elegant surroundings of the gardens. While different costumes are visible, it does not seem important to Pugin to present the individual character of the people. As is the case with Trollope, the Père Lachaise is a subject which attracts Pugin's attention. The cemetery is the subject of nine illustrations in *Paris and its Environs*, including the frontispiece. The

²⁷ See Ibid, p. 41.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 83.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 109.

illustrations show figures admiring the monuments, and paying their respects, and also priests in the midst of a service. In some of these illustrations, Pugin represents the customs and manners of the Parisians in a way similar to Trollope. This suggests that while his view is flattering, it is not entirely superficial. For instance, in the illustration *Monument de la Famille Perrigaux, Père Lachaise* (Figure 4.5), Pugin depicts funeral ceremonies. Another scene, which presents Parisians as psychologically nuanced individuals, is *Monument de la Famille Bouchée* (Figure 4.6). This represents a woman and a young child in a moment of private mourning. In these illustrations, Pugin pays attention to the picturesque scenery, but also shows his English readers Parisian customs. Pugin also includes views which possess novelty value such as *Modele d' l' Eléphant de la place de la Bastille* (Figure 4.7). This illustration depicts a large model of an elephant which Napoleon intended, originally, to be cast in bronze and erected in the Place de la Bastille.

Another aspect of Pugin's view of Paris, which is similar to that presented by Trollope and Thackeray, is the attention he pays to things that would not be typical tourist attractions. However, the difference between Pugin and the two English commentators is that where they are often critical of less savoury parts of the city, Pugin turns potentially unpleasant things into intriguing ones. He is rarely critical or negative in his view of the city. His illustration *La Morgue, Quai Notre Dame* (Figure 2.19) echoes Trollope's visit to the morgue. He gives the scene weight, focusing on the dark, sombre atmosphere and the dramatically lit sky. Aside from the impression of light breaking through the clouds, the scene is not overly sensationalized. The activities depicted would have been familiar to Parisians, but may have appeared unusual to an English reader. As Pugin's view of the physical spaces of the city is more flattering than that of the English writers, so too is his depiction of the Parisians. He does not suggest they are anything less than decorous and moral. In the illustration *Rotonde, Passage Colbert* (Figure 4.8), the Parisians are shown to be refined and behave decorously. A woman shows something to a man who bows. Another couple link arms. This is the point where Pugin's French origins come into the equation. As someone who was born in that country, his view may have been more lenient even though he had been living among the English for a long time. Since the book was published simultaneously in Paris, he may also have wished to flatter his Parisian readers.

Ventouillac's text extends Pugin's flattering representation of Paris, but is very dry and

does not share any of the humour of Trollope or Thackeray.³⁰ There are times when he points out the similarities between the two capitals. In describing the *Rotonde, Passage Colbert*, he observes that it is “similar to that which bears the name of the Burlington family in Piccadilly, London.”³¹ Likewise he observes of the *Petit Trianon* that “The gardens are laid out both in English and French style.”³² In the description accompanying the plate *Vue du Pont d' Austerlitz*, Ventouillac suggests:

The quiet river scenery of this plate will remind our English readers of some views of the Thames presented in the neighbourhood of the British metropolis, and particularly of one just above Vauxhall. There is indeed a striking similarity in the light and elegant character of the Pont d' Austerlitz and that of Vauxhall Bridge. Both are also models of that great improvement in the aquatic architecture, the cast iron bridge.³³

In most of his comparisons of Paris and London he asserts that Paris is more admirable. He presents Parisian life as a model the English could learn from and imitate. For example, he says that the *Marché aux Fleurs* is “Superior to its British rival, Covent Garden.”³⁴ More explicitly, he is forthcoming in his praise of Napoleon. If Pugin depicted Napoleon's achievements in his illustrations, Ventouillac's text makes their admiration of him even clearer. In praising Napoleon's changes to the city, Ventouillac even suggests that they “afford an example well worthy of imitation in the British Metropolis.”³⁵ He is also condescending to his English readers at times. He acknowledges that many of his educated English readers will be able to understand the French, but notes that “we have given it on the other, page, and hope the following free translation may prove acceptable to those of our fair readers, who are not yet *learned* enough to understand the original.”³⁶ This is a thinly veiled criticism of the inadequacies of the English. At other times he is more friendly to English readers, describing aspects of Parisian life in terms of their English equivalents. Of the *Théâtre des Nouveautés*, he says: “This is one of the minor theatres, where are performed those light little pieces, two or three of which generally go to the composition of an English farce.”³⁷ The cultural differences between the French and English are emphasized by his inclusion of a quotation by an English traveller to the Père Lachaise cemetery. The traveller comments that the English find it difficult to understand how a cemetery can also be a beautiful garden. In an

³⁰ His writing is however of typical of that which accompanied picturesque views. It is meant to be factual and perhaps educational.

³¹ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 53.

³² *Ibid*, p. 73.

³³ *Ibid*.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 129.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 13.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 37.

aside, Ventouillac enquires: “A shrewd Frenchman perhaps may ask, how then do they so often consult their wine cellars in their grief?”³⁸ This seems to accord with the general disapproval, expressed by several French writers (including Taine), of the drinking habits of the English. Being a flattering portrait of Paris, *Paris and its Environs* sets the French capital above London, in terms of elegance and style.

A further examination of the reception of *Paris and its Environs* will reveal how some of the English felt about Pugin’s view of Paris. As already discussed in Chapter One, that it was well received by the critics and had a significant readership, is evidence that such representations were very acceptable to the English public. Indeed, views of Paris were often more commercially successful at this time than views of London. For example, it has been noted by Will Vaughan that Thomas Shotter-Boys’ *London as it is* was less successful than his views of Paris.³⁹ The reason for this may have been because Paris was more of a novelty to an English audience than their own city. The fact that it was a depiction of a foreign city also meant it was, possibly, less likely to arouse controversy. English audiences may have felt comfortable enough in themselves not to feel threatened by the elegance of the French capital, and as discussed previously, they could always be critical of it.

A variety of French artists and writers depicted nineteenth-century London. One of the early famous French visitors was Voltaire who made his journey in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ He commented on English culture and society in his writings. In 1821, Théodore Géricault visited London and made a series of prints which represented the poverty experienced by a large proportion of the city’s inhabitants.⁴¹ A few years later, in 1825, Eugene Delacroix visited London.⁴² The caricaturist H. G. S. Chevalier known as ‘Gavarni’ made a visual record of his journey, in 1849, in the volume *Gavarni In London, Sketches of Life and Character*.⁴³ Published in London, this book is another example of a critical view of London by a French illustrator in that he also engaged with social issues by representing the London poor in his illustrations. Another French visitor to London was Hippolyte Taine who recorded his

³⁸ Ibid, p. 129.

³⁹ Will Vaughan, “London Topographers and Urban Change,” in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 61.

⁴⁰ See *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 179, *Voltaire and the English* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1979).

⁴¹ See Treuherz, p. 65.

⁴² See Houfe, p. 76.

⁴³ See Paul Gavarni, *Gavarni in London: Sketches of Life and Character*, with illustrative essays by popular writers (London, 1849).

observations in *Taine's Notes on England*.⁴⁴ I shall discuss Taine and Gavarni's views as they both provide interesting points of comparison to Doré's *London: A Pilgrimage*. Indeed, Jerrold makes several references to Taine in his text. Taine and Gavarni both deal with social issues, as does Doré, and Gavarni's book was also published in London. It is likely Doré would have been familiar with both of these works. There was thus a precedent for critical views of London by French writers and artists before Doré, though *London: A Pilgrimage* went much further than these earlier works.

In *Gavarni in London, Sketches of Life and Character*, Gavarni depicts the range of London society, but his main interest was in depictions of the working classes.⁴⁵ As Simon Houfe notes:

It was hoped that Gavarni would immortalise the high society of the most prosperous capital in the world, its receptions, balls, garden parties, political functions and historical ceremonies . . . but as the life of London became more familiar to him, it was with the humdrum aspects of ordinary life that he identified.⁴⁶

Gavarni's illustrations, like Doré's, exhibit the influence of the atmosphere of social reform epitomized by the publication of Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. Like Doré and Mayhew, Gavarni devotes a number of his illustrations to street vendors and other members of the lower classes. This interest in the everyday life of the city can also be linked to the coming of modernity as discussed in Chapter Two. Gavarni's view of the city, is in some ways, critical in that he does not ignore the poverty which existed in the capital, yet ultimately he represents the English sympathetically. Like Doré, Gavarni rarely offers a moral judgement on his subjects. However, Gavarni's illustrations are not usually as dramatic as Doré's. Gavarni's is a more restrained view of London life, though he depicts the classes as being divided as does Doré. Gavarni's representations of the upper and lower classes never appear in the same plates. Instead, different social groups are depicted within their respective city environments, though parallels are drawn between their pursuits. *The Potato-can* (Figure 4.9) and *The Orange Girl* (Figure 4.10) are two subjects treated by Gavarni which are also treated by Doré. An illustration such as *The Barmaid* (Figure 4.11) is comparable to Doré's scenes of life in the slums. Later, I shall compare these specific illustrations by Gavarni with equivalent scenes by Doré. Gavarni's view of London seems to be representative of a number

⁴⁴ See Hippolyte Taine, *Taine's notes on England*. trans. with an Introduction by Edward Hyams (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957, originally published 1860-1979).

⁴⁵ See M. Prevost, Roman D' Amat and H. Tribout de Morembert (eds), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1982), p. 874. The entry for Gavarni is under the name Sulpice-Guillaume Chevalier. He was born in 1804.

⁴⁶ See Houfe, p. 149-150.

of French writers' opinions of England in that it is critical of the class divide and standards of living – rather than the moral character of the people which so concerned writers like Trollope when talking about the French.

In *Notes on England*, Hippolyte Taine does express some of the same views of the city as Gavarni and Doré. The book is dedicated to such themes as the appearance of England, the types of English people and the English mind. Taine is struck by the differing appearance of London, in comparison to Paris, and finds it disagreeable and oppressive.⁴⁷ He is also critical of the architecture of London buildings, though he will allow that the Gothic style is very suitable for England and finds Westminster Abbey admirable.⁴⁸ Like Doré, Taine finds the docks fascinating and takes a pleasure in the pastoral aspect of London's parks.⁴⁹ However, to Taine, London has the general appearance of a city of work.⁵⁰ He goes on to divide the English people into types. These are the robust and strong person, the phlegmatic, and the active and energetic person. These types can apply either to men or women. He holds the view that London society is much less elegant than its Parisian equivalent. As well as being critical of the dress of the women, which he thinks is lacking in taste, Taine contrasts the pallid faces of some English women with those men who have “faces the colour of raw beef-steak.”⁵¹ He also expresses a lack of enthusiasm for the amusements passionately enjoyed by the English, writing of the Derby: “I find it like watching a game played by insects.”⁵² Jerrold picks up Taine's comments on the Derby for inclusion in his text for *London: A Pilgrimage*. Like Gavarni and Doré, Taine is critical of the poverty experienced by many people in the capital. He observes how the poor in England are much poorer than the poor in France.⁵³ He goes on to condemn the class divide, calling it “a festering sore, the real sore on the body of English society.”⁵⁴ Like Jerrold, he observes the charities of London but does not seem convinced that they do much to alleviate the problems of society.⁵⁵ Taine's view of London represents a critical view of Paris. However, the lack of illustrations means Taine's book does not have the visual impact of *London: A Pilgrimage*.

⁴⁷ Taine, p. 8.

⁴⁸ See Ibid, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 8-16.

⁵⁰ See Ibid, p. 10.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 20-29.

⁵² Ibid, p. 34.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 29.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 31.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 168.

In his illustrations for *London: A Pilgrimage*, Doré takes the critical aspects of Gavarni's and Taine's views of London and expands them. Where Pugin had a close connection to Paris, Doré did not have any such affinity with London. In fact, as I noted in Chapter One, he was unenthusiastic about travelling to the city in the first place. Once he arrived, Doré did take a certain pleasure in its more unusual aspects, however, and created a view influenced by his French background. Nonetheless, this was a view that was close to life in London at the time. Doré represents the vast divide between rich and poor even more clearly than Pugin did. Much of the drama of Doré's depiction comes from his aesthetic style, as described in Chapter Two, and in the use of melodrama (which I shall explore in Chapter Five). Doré depicts many of the institutions of London's social and cultural life, which were observed by Gavarni and Taine, and also the physical aspects of the city. The oppressive atmosphere described by Taine is vividly manifest, in Doré's work, in a way Gavarni never attempted. Doré makes much of the dark and mysterious atmosphere of London. Where illustrations such as *Hayboats on the Thames* (Figure 2.22) use atmosphere in a pleasant manner, Doré also carries this foggy atmosphere to his scenes of the slums.⁵⁶ In illustrations such as *Bluegate Fields* (Figure 2.23), the fog and darkness create an enclosed and claustrophobic feeling relieved only by the weak illumination of the streetlights.⁵⁷ A viewer can sense the oppression felt by London's poor. In general, Doré's view of London is a mixture of pessimism and enthusiasm. Like Taine, Doré was fascinated with the docks and portrays them in many illustrations. He also depicts London as a bustling place of work and contrasts this with the elegance of the lives of the upper classes who frequent the parks and the abbey.⁵⁸ Where Taine was merely dismissive of English institutions such as the Derby, Doré depicts both the Derby and the Oxford and Cambridge boats races with some enthusiasm. He is not entirely uncritical, however. In the illustration *The Derby – At Lunch* (Figure 2.20) the crowd is represented as a sketchy, generalized mass. Doré manages to evoke how large and overwhelming the English crowds may have seemed. Doré represents the English upper classes as more exaggeratedly elegant and ostentatious in illustrations such as *The Ladies' Mile* (Figure 4.12), which depicts men and women riding in elegant costume. Taine had expressed admiration for the women whom he termed amazons. His English women are characterized as more robust and vigorous than Doré's.⁵⁹ Doré's view is thus more idealized and there is the sense that, like Gavarni, Doré may have wished to flatter the society among

⁵⁶ See also *Between Bridges, London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 33.

⁵⁷ See also *Whitechapel Refreshments*, Ibid, p. 140 and *Whitechapel – A Shady Place*, p. 146.

⁵⁸ See Chapter Three.

⁵⁹ Taine, p. 18.

which he moved. Doré does not judge English morality in a superficial way like Trollope and Thackeray judged the French. He does not offer moral judgements on the lives of the rich or the poor. Instead, like Gavarni and Taine, he focuses on real social problems.

In the way Doré shows poverty as something unpleasant rather than merely picturesque or novel, his depictions of the poor often go further than Gavarni's. Nevertheless, Doré's illustrations of street sellers do owe something to Gavarni. Examples of Doré's treatment of the same subject are *Orange Woman* (Figure 4.13) and *Baked-Potato Man* (Figure 4.14). The slight differences between the treatment of such subjects by Gavarni and Doré highlights Doré's more realistic approach. Gavarni's illustration *The Potato-can* (Figure 4.9) depicts an individualized figure, dressed in a worn suit and top hat, engaged in selling his wares. Doré's potato seller looks older than the youth depicted by Gavarni. Gavarni's *The Orange Girl* (Figure 4.10) is a romanticized image of a young woman dressed in a hat and shawl with a basket of oranges. The costume of Doré's orange seller is ragged where the costume of Gavarni's *Orange Girl* (Figure 4.10) is not. Doré's figure also carries a plain wooden tray rather than the woven basket of Gavarni's. In Gavarni's *The Barmaid* (Figure 4.11), a young woman fills a drink for one of the customers who stands behind the counter. Other figures stand and talk and drink. Illustrations such as this suggest that to Gavarni, English women were just as likely to work in bars as they might be restricted to the home. Doré does not so often depict women engaged in work such as this. However, a comparable scene is *Coffee Stall – Early Morning* (Figure 4.15). The woman here seems to be a customer. Where Gavarni's barmaid is an attractive young woman, Doré depicts an older woman who appears to be tired and weary. While there is sentimentality to some of Doré's street sellers, he often achieves a greater Realism.

Blanchard Jerrold's text for *London: A Pilgrimage* is not as critical in its view of London as Doré's illustrations are. It is colloquial in tone, and much more humorous than the plainly factual account of Ventouillac for *Paris and its Environs*. Jerrold does, however, compare Paris and London throughout the text. He had spent much time in Paris and a reviewer for the *Art Journal* suggested, "We imagine that Mr. Jerrold knows more of Paris than he does of London – of its low localities, that is to say."⁶⁰ Where, in *Paris and its Environs*, Ventouillac made a comparison of the two to point out the superiority of Paris to London, in *London: A*

⁶⁰ *Art Journal*, March 1, 1872, p. 89.

Pilgrimage, Jerrold juxtaposes Paris and London to suggest that, contrary to popular perceptions, London has even more to offer. In the preface he writes: “I am not sure that there is so much more to tempt the artist's pencil and the writers' pen by the banks of the Seine, than we have found lying thick upon our way in our Pilgrimage through the Land of Cockayne.”⁶¹ In comparing London Bridge and the Pont Neuf, he writes that they are “the two historical bridges of the world: bridges charged with mystery, romance, and tragedy.”⁶² He does not privilege one over the other, instead insisting that they each hold their specific appeal. Jerrold goes on to compare the Seine and the Thames, writing, “The Seine has a holiday look: and the little, fussy steamers that load for the London under the walls of the Louvre, seem to be playing at trade,” thus affirming Taine’s view of London as a city of work.⁶³ Jerrold presents the troubles of the London poor in statements such as “The Londoner reduced to hunting after odd jobs by the river-shore is a castaway, whom it is impossible to class. He is a ne’er do-well nearly always; but without the elasticity and spirit of the Paris chiffonier . . .”⁶⁴ This is more of a plain statement of a fact than a strong critique, however. In the text, Jerrold often uses the character of Doré to express a French viewpoint on London. At other times he speaks of the French in general. An example of this is when he talks about the costume of the poor: “A Frenchman has never seen a shawl dragging to the ground from the shoulders of the wearer.”⁶⁵ This foreign viewpoint allows Jerrold to highlight the singular character of many aspects of London life. Another example is where he notes that croquet is a game that “no foreigner understands.”⁶⁶ He writes of the people in the parks that “the genial air of quiet strength and grace which is upon all the scene – are strange to the mind of the habitué of the Bois de Boulogne under the Second Empire.”⁶⁷ One of the main differences between the viewpoints of Doré and Jerrold is that Jerrold is even more enthusiastic about events such as the Derby and the boat race. Where Doré tends to use such events to show the confusion of an English crowd, Jerrold uses them to attempt to show a union between the classes, writing of the boat race that the holiday is “for all London.”⁶⁸ If Doré often presents a pessimistic view of the city, Jerrold tends to present a more optimistic one. He does not deny the poverty of the city, but tends to relish the sensational or sentimental aspects of it. I shall discuss this point further in Chapter Five.

⁶¹ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. x.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

While Jerrold is very enthusiastic about London, there are times when he acknowledges that Paris could be a model for England or that Parisian things are superior. He writes, “I have often thought it was a pity that the Orpheonist system of France was not vigorously established in every part of England, so that workmen and their wives might have at least one refining amusement within their reach.”⁶⁹ Jerrold also mentions that “Covent Garden market, however, is the most famous place of barter in England: – it has been said, by people who forget the historical *Halle* of Paris – in the world.”⁷⁰ Despite this, he does not suggest that one city is better than the other to the same extent that Ventouillac does. There are several references in the text to other French writers who had published their views on London. Jerrold tends to correct what he believes to be the mistakes these writers made in their characterisation of the English people and London life. According to Jerrold, French writers including Froissant, Heine and the “living chroniclers of Paris” have misrepresented the English people as mournful.⁷¹ He also makes several references to Taine, quoting Taine's observations of the Derby Day to add a foreign perspective of the event: “M. Taine will not admit that there is anything grandiose in the great race-day on the downs. The crowd is an ant-heap.”⁷² He suggests that Taine “failed to catch the fundamental essentials of the Anglo-Saxon character.”⁷³ He brings up previous French writers to suggest that his own view of London is in many ways an expansion and a correction of their views, and that his view is different to Doré's.

At the time of its publication, the English reviewers of *London: A Pilgrimage* were critical of the book due to the fact that it was a representation of London by a Frenchman. They could not accept that a foreigner could give them an accurate portrait of their city. They were just as critical of Jerrold's text as Doré's illustrations. For example, the reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* suggested that “Mr Jerrold's text was plainly intended to be highly effective; but it is painfully spasmodic, and often lands him in an absurd anti-climax.”⁷⁴ In Chapter One, I gave several examples of the negative comments of critics on the book in general. Many of the criticisms specifically refer to the fact that Doré was French. The reviewer for the *Art Journal* wrote:

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 61.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 155.

⁷¹ See Ibid, p. 53.

⁷² See Ibid, p. 77-79.

⁷³ See Ibid, p. 26.

⁷⁴ *Illustrated London News*, n 1687, v LX, Saturday 6 January, 1872, p. 18.

He is a bold man who seeks for fame by the use of either the language or the Art of a country of which he is not native . . . These scenes, with whatever artistic power they are put on paper, are those of a foreigner: and, moreover, a foreigner unacquainted with the English language. They cannot, therefore, be such representations as will seem natural to the English public. But there may be an advantage in this very strangeness.⁷⁵

In a second review in the *Art Journal*, the reviewer wrote of Doré that “he moved about on stilts: he was the master nowhere; if he saw, he did not think, for himself” and that “the cause of failure here, if it be failure, on which we by no means insist, is that in London M. Doré was not ‘at home’.”⁷⁶ Another reviewer, this time writing in *The Times*, suggested that “It is to be noted, however, that Doré, though he studied England closely, never quite entered into the spirit of English things.”⁷⁷ On the other hand, a French critic, Victor Fournel, maintained that “Doré completely understands the English character.”⁷⁸ This suggests that the responses by English critics to *London: A Pilgrimage* may have been due to their own prejudices about the French and French art as much as the actual view presented by Doré in his illustrations. The English reviewers did, however, give examples of the specific illustrations they felt to be inaccurate representations of London and its people. The reviewer for the *Art Journal* suggested: “The sturdy workman, on the next plate, called *Coffee-stall – Early Morning* (Figure 4.15) has something of the genuine English cut about him, which however, is more obscure in his comrade, and utterly absent from the forlorn-looking woman.”⁷⁹ There is nothing in the illustration to suggest this is the case. Of *The Waterman's Family* (Figure 4.16), they wrote that it “is not an English scene.”⁸⁰ It is true that the woman in this illustration wear classical looking draperies but the rest of the scene is accurate to the look of the docks. The same reviewer said of *The Great Tree – Kensington Gardens* (Figure 4.17): “We find, first, a drawing of a great chestnut-tree in Kensington Gardens, surrounded by a group such as we have never seen in that locality, although we *have* seen something like it in the former gardens of the Tuileries.”⁸¹ No particular evidence for this criticism is given, however and again, it is not apparent in the illustration. The reviewers' criticisms of the inaccuracies of many of the illustrations do not seem entirely correct. It may be more correct to say that many of them borrow heavily from literature as much as real life.⁸²

⁷⁵ *Art Journal*, March 1, 1872, p. 89.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, February, 1873, p. 64.

⁷⁷ *The Times*, n 30723, London, Thursday 25 January, 1883, p. 6.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Joanna Richardson, *Gustave Doré: A Biography*, p. 112.

⁷⁹ *Art Journal*, March 1, 1872, p. 89.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² I shall cover this theme in Chapter Five.

Pugin and Doré's views of Paris and London are, in many ways, similar to those of other English and French artists and writers, though in both cases, their representations tend to be more extreme. Trollope and Thackeray's accounts of Paris are often humorous and draw attention to moralistic themes. They depict Paris as superficially elegant, but wanting in morality. On the other hand, writers such as Taine and Gavarni tended to view the English as lacking taste and censured the poverty of London. Pugin's depiction of Paris is less controversial and more flattering than the other English views of the city I have discussed. On the other hand, Doré's view is more strongly critical and dramatic than the other French views of England I have discussed. Both artists manage to highlight what is distinctive about their chosen city. They focus on what is typical and also what seemed unusual or different in comparison with their own culture. Paris, for example, would have seemed much more spacious to an English person used to the crowded housing of London. To a Frenchman, like Doré, London would have seemed particularly chaotic and disordered.⁸³ Perhaps as significant as the fact that Pugin's *Paris and its Environs* and Doré's *London: A Pilgrimage* are, respectively, a representation of Paris by a Frenchman living in London (and produced, primarily for an English audience) and a representation of London by a French visitor, is that *Paris and its Environs* adheres to the form of a guidebook, whilst *London: A Pilgrimage* is more like an illustrated novel. I shall discuss this further in Chapter Five.

⁸³ I shall look at the representation of the geography of the cities in Chapter Five.



Figure 4.1 *Morning at the Tuileries Gardens*



Figure 4.2 *Soirée*



Figure 4.3 *Mr Pogson's Temptation*



Figure 4.4 *Jardins des Tuileries, Près de la Grande Entrée*



Figure 4.5 *Monument de la Famille Perrigaux, Père Lachaise*

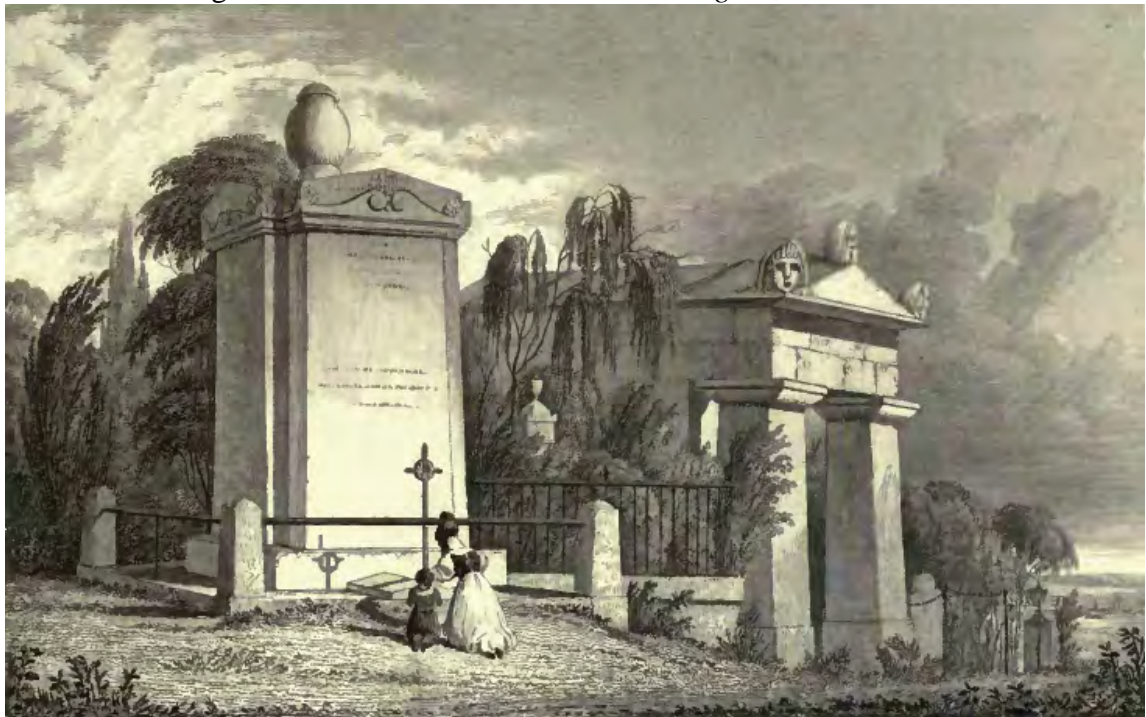


Figure 4.6 *Monument de la Famille Bouchée*

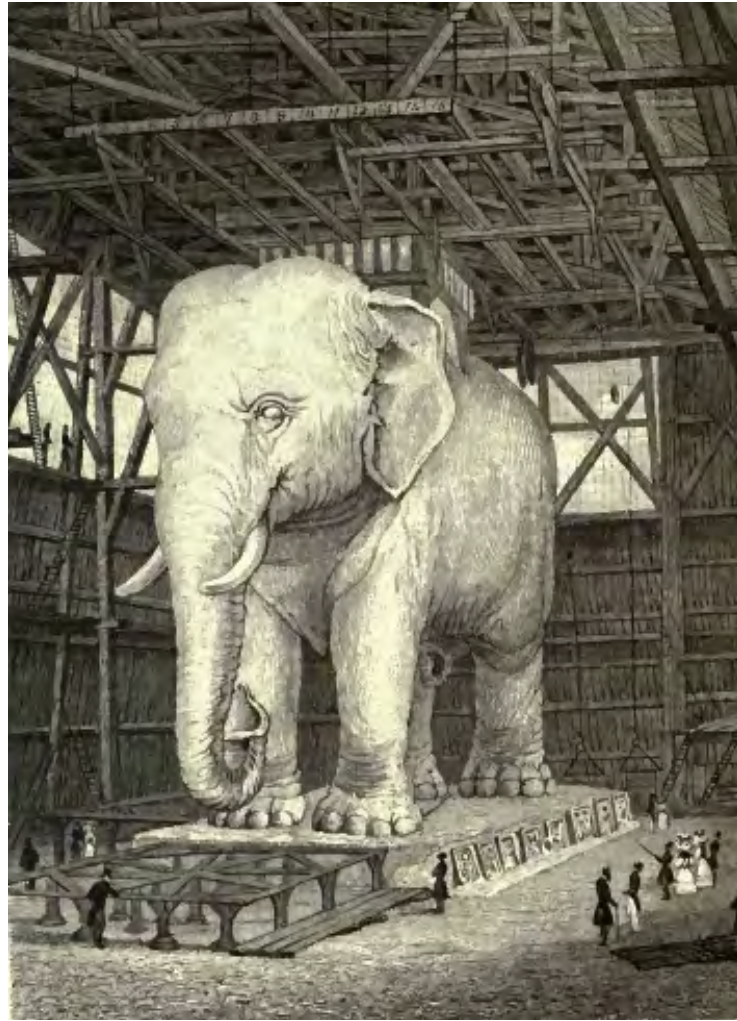


Figure 4.7 *Modele de l' Eléphant de la Place de la Bastille*



Figure 4.8 *Rotonde, Passage Colbert*



Figure 4.9 *The Potato-can*



Figure 4.10 *The Orange Girl*



Figure 4.11 *The Barmaid*



Figure 4.12 *The Ladies' Mile*



Figure 4.13 *Orange Woman*

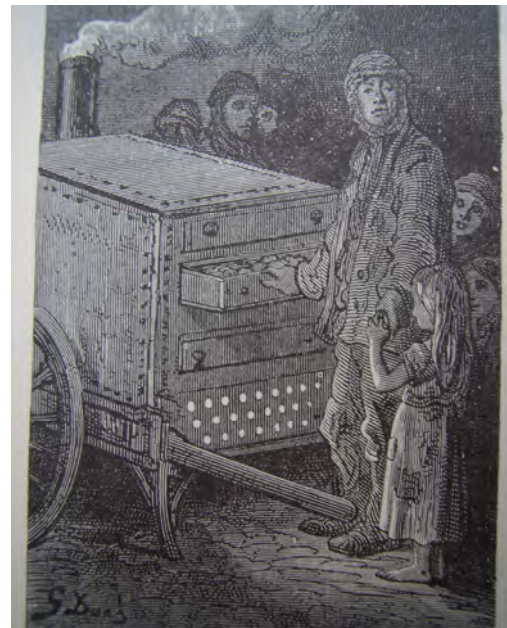


Figure 4.14 *Baked-Potato Man*



Figure 4.15 *Coffee Stall – Early Morning*



Figure 4.16 *The Waterman's Family*



Figure 4.17 *The Great Tree – Kensington Gardens*

Chapter Five: Differing forms: from guidebook to novel

Pugin and Doré use very different forms for their representations of the city. While they both use illustrations and text to create a picture of the cities, *Paris and its Environs* takes the character of an illustrated guidebook, while *London: A Pilgrimage* is closer in type to an illustrated novel. As well as being popular forms for illustration at the times the books were published, these types were also congenial to the ideas about the city Pugin and Doré wished to express. A novel could be much wider in scope than a guidebook and allowed a more critical approach. In terms of their aesthetic choices, the picturesque was perfect for a guidebook, while a novel allowed both the Realism and the exaggerated style favoured by Doré. In terms of the cross channel views I discussed in Chapter Four, Pugin could use a guidebook to show the English the Paris they wanted to see, while Doré needed the novel form to show the English a London closer to the reality of life at the time. In this chapter I shall, firstly, place the two publications within the context of the guidebook and novel forms of the time. I shall then consider aspects of the books which are characteristic of either guidebooks or novels. To achieve this, I shall focus specifically on the treatment of place, narrative and people or characters within each publication. This will reveal the relationship between the real and the imagined in each publication and why each is significant of its cultural moment.

At the time Pugin created *Paris and its Environs*, illustrated books on the city nearly always took the form of guides. Guidebooks to cities such as London and Paris became an increasingly popular form in the eighteenth century. During that century they took three main forms and were published as small pocketbooks.¹ The first of these consisted of abbreviated histories and some contemporary material.² The second was material either in ballad or verse form, comparing life in the town and country, or a close scrutiny of the city itself.³ The third form consisted of tabulated information on London including street information.⁴ In the nineteenth century, these forms gave way to much larger illustrated books containing steel-engraved views. I have already highlighted the characteristics of these books in previous chapters. Their illustrations were accompanied by descriptions containing both topographical and historical information. They were not books which could be easily taken on a journey

¹ Michael Harris, "London Guidebooks before 1800," in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Maps and Prints. Aspects of the English Booktrade* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1984), pp. 35-6.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, p. 37.

⁴ Ibid, p. 48.

due to their large size, but readers could read them before and after a journey. Readers could also choose to experience travel through the medium of the book without actually visiting the places depicted. These books of steel engravings included illustrations of the most famous buildings of the cities and often represented, in an opening or summary plate, a panorama of the city.⁵ This generic form is the one to which Pugin's book adheres. Indeed, the title pages of *Paris and its Environs* are the most obvious indications of its status as a guidebook. The illustration, which accompanies the first volume, is entitled *Equestrian Statue of Henry IV* (Figure 5.1), while the vignette for the second volume, and the editions of the book which contain both volumes in one, is a *General View of Paris* (Figure 5.2). This view is taken from the vantage point of a cemetery, which may be the Père Lachaise. The former illustration points to the historical concerns of the book, while the panorama indicates its topographical dimension. Both illustrations are very clear and detailed and demonstrate the emphasis, of both the illustrations and the text of the book, on descriptive precision. The aim is to accurately represent architectural details and capture the city as a whole, for the tourist, by pointing out its representative features and highlights. As I intend to establish in this chapter, *Paris and its Environs* has much in common with the type of guidebook that flatters its subjects, and seeks to keep tourists away from the unpleasant or dangerous.

Another typical nineteenth century kind of guidebook presents close-up vignettes. As Gray observes, in these: "The emphasis is usually on eccentric detail of figure and setting, an odd costume, unusual types, and the quaint look of out-of-the-way places in the city."⁶ *London: A Pilgrimage* clearly has something in common with this category of views, but in terms of both its form and content it moves far beyond those bounds. In the text of *London: A Pilgrimage*, Blanchard Jerrold sets out to differentiate their account of the city from the historical and topographical modes, writing, "We are Pilgrims, wanderers, gipsy-loiterers in the great world of London – not historians of the ancient port and capital."⁷ This suggests that they did not aim for the precision of description which concerned Pugin and Ventouillac, but wished to view London from a more imaginative point of view. Instead of viewing the city from the outside, objectively; they wished to view it from the inside, subjectively. There is historical content within Jerrold's text, but it strays into a narrative form closer to that of a novel. He tells a story of life in the city over the course of the book and the focus is on the

⁵ See Donald J. Gray, "Views and Sketches of London in the Nineteenth Century," p. 43.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 1.

development of action. Where in *Paris and its Environs* Ventouillac speaks from a distanced and authoritative perspective; in *London: A Pilgrimage*, Jerrold refers to both himself and Doré as participants in the story he is telling. The book is divided into chapters like novels of the time. The fact that it was first issued in monthly parts on different themes also reflects the serial novels which had become increasingly popular over the course of the century. Examples of these are the novels of Charles Dickens, in relation to which I shall consider *London: A Pilgrimage* later in this chapter. Each part of a serial novel needed to be an integral whole and include striking features to hold a readers attention. A particular installment would often end on a note of suspense to hold the reader's attention and encourage them to buy the next part.⁸ *London: A Pilgrimage* adheres to all of these features, including the taste of the time for the melodramatic. Even the title page, which I shall discuss later in this chapter depicts a fictional character, Father Thames. The text and illustrations both borrow devices from novels. Using these elements, Doré and Jerrold could take a reader not only off the beaten track of the tourist trail, but into an imagined city.

Pugin and Doré treat the geography of their cities quite differently. In *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin constructs the city as a unified whole (Figure 5.3).⁹ The centre is given the most weight, but he also pays attention to outlying areas, which are viewed as either places of wealth and leisure or containing useful establishments. The time of the July Monarchy was a time of change for Paris and it was during this era that “The much-lauded Parisian system of mixed housing, where class divisions operated in vertical rather than horizontal space, broke down . . . As in London, areas in the east became much more exclusively inhabited by workers, while the middle and upper classes settled in the west.”¹⁰ It is true that Pugin focuses on the buildings and monuments in the centre of Paris which would have been popular with tourists and does not give much attention to Eastern areas, but he does not characterize Paris as a city with an East West divide. He devotes much attention to the Père Lachaise, for example, which is located in the East. It is, however, a location which is picturesque rather than poverty-stricken. Pugin depicts some unsightly establishments which are located in outlying areas. An example of this is the abattoir at Montmartre. The Morgue, on the other hand, is located centrally at Notre Dame. The river Seine serves as a central location and the point of focus for Pugin's Paris. He concentrates on places located centrally

⁸ See Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), p. 184.

⁹ This is a map of Paris in the present time.

¹⁰ Lynn Lees, “Metropolitan Types. London and Paris compared” in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, p. 419.

such as the Pont Neuf, the Jardin des Tuileries and the Place Vendôme. These were very much the sights tourists wished to visit. The centre of Paris is seen as the focus of most of the city's attractions, while the outlying places are interesting places for tourists to visit if they wish. The attractiveness of the peripheral districts also adds to his view of Paris as a city with much to admire. In addition to areas of central Paris, Pugin also illustrates Versailles, St. Germain en-Laye, St. Denis, Neuilly, Fontainebleau, Passy, Rosny, Montmartre and Meudon. These places reappear throughout the book, usually in two views at a time. They are presented as self-sufficient, possessing all the facilities tourists would need. However, Pugin does not order his illustrations according to their geographical location. Places which are placed side by side in *Paris and its Environs* are not side by side in Paris. A representative example is *Porte St. Martin* (which is located in central Paris) and *Porte St. Denis* (which is much further North in St. Denis).¹¹ This exemplifies how, In Pugin's book, two attractions are often linked by type rather than geographical location. At the time, this was typical of illustrated books like *Paris and its Environs*.¹² There are, however, some examples of places, which are located side by side geographically, appearing side by side in the book. An example of this is *Fontainebleau, Place d'Armes*, and *Fontainebleau, Cour des Fontaines*.¹³ Rather than progressing from adjacent district to adjacent district, Pugin jumps around Paris in an almost random manner. The reason for this is probably that he wished to present Paris as a whole and not favour one particular area over another. The fact that the illustrations were initially divided into monthly installments would also have had an effect on this, since he would have wished to scatter interesting scenes throughout the course of the publication, perhaps repeating those most memorable. By focusing on the central area, and occasionally showing scenes from outlying areas between these sights, Pugin can also present Paris as a whole within which, nonetheless, there still exists some diversity.

Doré's construction of London in geographical terms is very different from Pugin's depiction of Paris (Figure 5.4).¹⁴ London is very much seen as a city divided between East and West. There are also no suburbs or outlying areas such as those depicted in Pugin's book. London seems more condensed. As Nadel suggests, Jerrold's view avoids some of the truth of the development and rapid expansion of the city:

¹¹ *Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 27.

¹² For instance, the illustrations in *The Microcosm of London* were not ordered according to geographical location.

¹³ *Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 29.

¹⁴ This is a map of London in the present time.

Jerrold perceives this connected systematic whole as a distinguishing feature, disregarding the development of districts, the growth of suburbs, or the specialised activities in certain areas of the city. He perpetuates the leisurely, mid-century view of London Macaulay presents although Jerrold intensifies its melodramatic quality.¹⁵

Despite the fact Jerrold and Doré ignore outlying districts, their depiction of central London is divided into distinct areas. One of the main signs of the novel form in the book is how the geographical layout of London mirrors that of hell in *The Inferno*.¹⁶ It can be compared to the layout of hell, where Virgil and Dante move from one quite distinct area to another. Doré and Jerrold begin with the river and docks, moves to Westminster and Lambeth, then into the West End, the centre, the East End, the centre again, and then Billingsgate and the river. Doré and Jerrold approach the city by the Thames and land at Greenwich. As the Seine was central to *Paris and its Environs*, the Thames is central to *London: A Pilgrimage*. According to Nadel:

The overall organisation of *London: A Pilgrimage* expresses the physical harmony of London. The volume begins and ends with the bridges that cross the Thames and uses the river as the central image which links the three major sections of the work: river life, pleasures of the wealthy, and life among the poor. The Thames dominates the book and joins together the disparate worlds Blanchard Jerrold describes. The image gives structure to the work, as Doré's illustrations give it texture.¹⁷

They focus on places around the river and often return to it. The first part of the book is centred around the area of the river and docks. This includes London Bridge, Gravesend, Mile's Lane, Duck's Foot Lane, Pickle-Herring Street and then St. Katherine's, Commercial, India and Victoria Docks. They then move on to Limehouse, Blackwell, Shadwell, Ratcliff Highway and Old Grand Lane. As I discussed in Chapter Three, these areas are the places of work and the habitation of the working classes. In the next part of the book they move "Above Bridge to Westminster"; travelling through Drury Lane, Southwark, Black Friars, Ludgate, Lambeth, Vauxhall, Devil's Acre and Chelsea. The fact that they refer to the different levels of the city, the docks and then higher areas, gives the idea of a physical journey and of difficulty in moving around. Alan Wood draws attention to this phenomenon, noting that "life in this world goes on at many different levels . . . this makes for a precarious life."¹⁸ This can also be compared with the dangerous landscape of *The Inferno*, as I shall discuss later in this chapter. In Doré and Jerrold's book, London is not all smoothed out like Pugin's Paris. After discussing the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, which takes place on the

¹⁵ Ira Bruce Nadel, "Gustave Doré: English art and London life," p. 63.

¹⁶ Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, Illustrated by Gustave Doré, trans. the Rev. Henry Francis Cary (London, 1861).

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 58.

¹⁸ Woods, p. 347.

river Thames passing the Limes at Mortlake, they move to the Derby on the downs. The next chapters focus on the amusements of the West End and include places such as Soho, Covent Garden, Westminster Abbey, St. James Park, Regents Park, Kensington Gardens, Hyde Park, Zoological Garden's, Chiswick and Kew. This is similar to Pugin's focus on gardens and areas frequented by the wealthy, but in Doré they are isolated from other parts of the city. After visiting Bishopsgate, Charing Cross, Ludgate, Cannon Street and Guildhall, they move to the East End. In this second half of the book, attention is paid to places including Whitechapel, Aldgate, Houndsditch, The Strand, Fleet Street, Newgate, Bluegate Fields, Whitechapel, Billingsgate, Columbia, Covent Garden, Petticoat Lane, Seven Dials and Drury Lane. In some ways, the East End is seen as a mirror of the West as it has similar establishments. They move to Hampstead Heath, a high place in the city and then Shoreditch. The vantage point from this hill can be compared to the high places in Paris. They finish the pilgrimage where they began at the river and bridge. The journey is thus circular, in comparison to Pugin's zigzagging around. Again, this circularity is comparable to Dante and Virgil's journey through the circles of hell. The pilgrimage of Doré and Jerrold is for the most part arranged geographically. Most of the West End or East End places are located in separate chapters, though some chapters include places from both areas to provide a contrast. The progressive geographical representation of London, in *London: A Pilgrimage*, is thus much more of a tour a reader can follow than the ordering of the scenes in *Paris and its Environs*. This is in line with the quest narrative of the book as I shall discuss later in this chapter.

The narrative of *Paris and its Environs* does not move forward in the way *London: A Pilgrimage* does. Pugin and Ventouillac's focus is not on the development of action. Their journey instead seems repetitive, leisurely and smooth. It is very calm and there is no sense of urgency. The slow moving pace of the book suits the idea of this being a journey a tourist would make in the pursuit of pleasure. Rather than the development of action, it is the repetition of particular buildings and scenes which draw the illustrations and text together into a cohesive picture of the city. The Pont Neuf, for example, appears at illustrations 3, 107 and 169. The Seine is used as a unifying image. It appears in 34 illustrations scattered throughout the book. As well as revisiting certain attractions throughout the book, Ventouillac repeatedly refers to previous or subsequent illustrations of particular places. This reinforces the idea that the Paris depicted is a whole or a microcosm. For instance, Ventouillac writes of one of several illustrations of the Père Lachaise cemetery: "We fear

being tedious to some of our readers on the subject of this cemetery.”¹⁹ This is quite different from Doré and Jerrold who occasionally cross reference in a like manner, but for the most part show an interest in exploring new territories throughout their journey. In *Paris and its Environs*, the narrative is even and spread out over the course of the book. This is characteristic of a guidebook in that it can be opened at any page and does not need to be read in sequence. While the book was published in monthly installments, there is no sense that it borrows from the form of serial novels as does *London: A Pilgrimage*. Instead books of views, of which *Paris and its Environs* was exemplary, were “relatively expensive, low-circulation formats, produced as petty commodities for the bourgeois market by the book publishers.”²⁰ The form of the monthly installments mirrors this. There was not quite the same need to create a sequence of sensational and attention grabbing chapters. Nor is there is any particular thematic unity within the individual installments. Rather, it is the repetition of popular places, buildings and monuments that will hold the attention of the reader. This is demonstrated by the fact that the second volume of *Paris and its Environs* does not add much new material to the first volume apart from the scenes from the revolution. As well as this repetition, another aspect of the narrative structure, in Pugin's book, is its clarity. The illustrations and the accompanying information are clear and descriptive. For instance, the illustration *Place de Louis XV, Taken from the Bridge* (Figure 5.5) clearly shows the buildings in the background, the people on the walkway and the river in the foreground. A tourist could expect that a scene like this is what they would see if they went to Paris. The aim is accuracy and clarity of representation. The accompanying text adds other useful things which a tourist may wish to know about this particular place. Ventouillac describes its situation in detail: “The Place Louis XV, situated between the garden of the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées, is bounded on the northern side by two magnificent buildings of similar construction, and on the opposite side by the Seine and the Pont Louis XVI.”²¹ The text adds an extra layer of detail to the description in the illustration. It clarifies the location for readers by the identification of significant landmarks and street names. With these clear illustrations and descriptions, a tourist could feel confident they would be able to find the place when they went to Paris and would know what to expect. The book can thus be seen as a preparation for a journey. It is something to be read beforehand. Readers can pick and choose from the places depicted and decide where they would like to visit. They are left to plan their own

¹⁹ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 111.

²⁰ Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press*, p. 14.

²¹ *Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 21.

journey rather than being recommended a particular order of travel. In this way, the narrative of Pugin's book mirrors its geographic representation of Paris.

The style of narrative in *Paris and its Environs* is decorous and this applies to the description of travel, which is akin to the smoothness of the narrative. Touring is depicted as being safe and easy and is centred around the sights and attractions of the city. Pugin's journey around Paris is in the tradition of the grand tour of European cities by the English.²² The antiquities and architecture of the city are a focus for both Pugin and Ventouillac. Well known attractions form the basis of the book. There are representations of bridges such as the Pont Neuf and the Pont des Arts; churches such as Notre Dame and St. Sulpice; the palaces of Luxembourg and Orleans and monuments such as the Column Vendôme. All of these were popular with tourists. Pugin exhibits no strong interest in visiting the lesser known areas, which in *London: A Pilgrimage*, attracted Doré and Jerrold, though Pugin does illustrate some less obvious scenes. Where Pugin clearly depicts the details of the buildings and the different styles of architecture in visual terms, Ventouillac adds supplementary written material including his aesthetic judgements. There is a sense that he is telling the readers what they should admire in the capital. To Ventouillac, buildings are elegant, beautiful, handsome, noble, distinguished, grand and so on. In describing the *Château d' Eau* he writes:

Though it cannot be compared to that of the *Marché des Innocents*, still it is considered one of the finest ornaments in Paris. Its situation is favorable, being on the Boulevard, and the vicinity of the trees, forming a pleasing part of the scenes, add to the pleasure felt while gazing on this beautiful fountain.²³

Ventouillac does not give evidence for these claims. He does not say that they are specifically his opinions. He presents these aesthetic judgements as objective truths. Ventouillac also describes architecture using specialist technical jargon. For example, referring to the *Palais de la Legion d' Honneur*, he writes:

The front of the edifice is distinguished by a colonnade of the Ionic order; and six Corinthian columns, of noble proportions, give dignity to the entrance; over this, some fine bas-reliefs, executed by M. Roboud, add to the rich appearance of the front, which bears some resemblance to that of the *Ecole de Médecine*, so much and so justly admired.²⁴

This is quite didactic and not entirely necessary since most of it can be observed in the illustration itself. He also suggests the best way to view many of the sights of Paris, allowing the reader to feel as if they were there. An example of this accompanies the illustration *View*

²² See Chapter Four.

²³ *Paris and its Environs*, facing p. 13.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 11.

taken from the *Pont des Arts* (Figure 3.1): “We have already noticed the situation of the Pont des Arts. The prospect from it rivals that from the Pont Royal, said to be the grandest in Europe.”²⁵ Travel is described as being pleasant and easy. There is no inherent danger or risk in it, even if at times: “Nature, indeed, frequently frowns upon the traveller here in a kind of savage grandeur, and offers a most picturesque contrast to the works and triumphs of art to which he is introduced at the palace.”²⁶ There is some advice offered to the tourist, in the form of when and if certain places are open to the public, and recommendations on what attractions are the most interesting. For instance, in the text accompanying *Chapelle du Palais de Versailles*, Ventouillac notes that the service is performed every Sunday at noon.²⁷ This inclusion of up to date information for the tourist was characteristic of the guidebook. On the whole, Pugin and Ventouillac's travels are described in a decorous way, and they do not stray from the well known tourist trail. This shows how the book fits into the ideal of a guide at this time.

In *London: A Pilgrimage*, Doré and Jerrold create a narrative which moves forwards like that of a novel. Where the pace of *Paris and its Environs* seemed slow and predictable, the narrative of *London: A Pilgrimage* seems fairly fast-paced. It is more tightly-structured and focuses on the development of action. As Nadel points out, “Unlike earlier nineteenth-century observers of the city . . . Jerrold shapes his text into a unified narrative controlled by certain images and themes.”²⁸ The book tells a story of the life of the city rather than being a simple guide to it as is *Paris and its Environs*. Rather than concentrating on various sights and offering information for the traveller, a narrative unfolds that illuminates the inhabitants of London as well as their environment. It is true that, in some respects, Doré and Jerrold's London journey is rambling. Indeed Jerrold writes: “let me warn the reader once again that we are but wanderers in search of the picturesque, the typical.”²⁹ However, the journey is also more directional than a mere wander. Doré and Jerrold are positioned within the text as brave explorers. The book is, in many ways, a quest – as is signified by the title. The quest narrative had been a popular form in English and European literature since works such as Malory's *Le Morte D' Arthur* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. This literary form was no

²⁵ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 77.

²⁷ See Ibid, p. 86. Of the *Bibliothèque Royale*, he writes: “Students and foreigners can obtain access to these noble collections every day except Saturdays, Sundays and fete-days, and during a vacation of six weeks in September and October. To the public at large they are open only on Tuesdays and Fridays from 10 o'clock until 2,” p. 111.

²⁸ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Gustave Doré: English art and London life,” p. 51.

²⁹ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 15.

less popular in the nineteenth century. Examples of quest narratives illustrated by Doré include Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. Thus, as well as being an established form in the wider world of literature, the quest narrative was also highly visible in Doré's own work. One such example, which bears comparison with the quest depicted in *London: A Pilgrimage*, is *The Divine Comedy*. Indeed, writers such as Robert Rosenblum have called *London: A Pilgrimage* "a fantastic voyage to a modern version of the Divine Comedy."³⁰ *The Divine Comedy* would have been well known among Doré's readers. The most repeated episode is the story of Paolo and Francesca.³¹ Doré included Paolo and Francesca among his illustrations, but shows more interest in depicting the scenery of hell. There are similarities between the illustrations Doré produced for *The Inferno* and those in *London: A Pilgrimage*. The illustration *The Two Pilgrims at Highgate* (Figure 5.6) is very similar to "He, soon as he saw that I was weeping." (Figure 5.7) Both depict paired figures, standing under trees, looking out into an atmospheric landscape. The atmosphere of hell, such as that shown in "All Hope Abandon" (Figure 5.8), bears certain similarities to that of the London slums, such as that depicted in *Over London by Rail* (Figure 5.9). Both these scenes are dark in their atmosphere. The implied wheel-like organization of the houses, and the strict compartmentalization of the front yards, to a certain extent, echoes the concentric organization of hell as imagined by Dante. The bodies of the figures in the vat in *Mixing the Malt* (Figure 5.10) can be compared to those in the water in "Now seest thou, son! The souls of those" (Figure 5.11). The precariousness of the small figures in *St. Paul's from the Brewery Bridge* (Figure 2.31) is comparable to the way Dante and Virgil are depicted within a large crevasse in "New terror I conceived at the steep plunge" (Figure 5.12).³² Doré and Jerrold's pictorial London journey is characterized as being as dangerous as Dante and Virgil's descent into Hell, and is also a quest. In this way their pilgrimage is very much located within contemporary literary conventions.

This identification with the dangerous journey of Dante and Virgil characterises the description of travel in *London: A Pilgrimage* and influences the style of narrative, which is

³⁰ Eric Zafran, Eric (ed) with Robert Rosenblum and Lisa Small, *Fantasy and Faith. The Art of Gustave Doré* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 22.

³¹ Scenes from Dante were the subjects of various painters in France and England in the nineteenth century, including Eugene Delacroix (who painted *The Barque of Dante* in 1822), Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Ary Scheffer, Odilon Redon, William Dyce and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Doré also painted an oil called *Paolo and Francesca da Rimini*, which was shown in the Doré gallery, see Roosevelt, p. 345.

³² See also the illustration in *London: A Pilgrimage*, *Ludgate Hill* and the illustration in *The Inferno*, "There stood I like the friar," facing p. 136. Woods (p. 346) compares *Dudley Street, Seven Dials* with "Call thou to mind Piero of Medicina" (*The Inferno*, facing p. 168).

melodramatic and ominous. Jerrold and Doré show an interest in the eccentric quarters of London, rather than just the well-travelled parts. Jerrold writes: “The two Pilgrims . . . have belted London with their footprints, and have tarried in many strange places – unfamiliar to thousands who have been life-long dwellers within the sound of Bow Bells.”³³ Their journey is characterised as being perilous. Jerrold highlights the possible pitfalls of travelling in the capital: “An after-dark journey by the riverside is an expedition to be undertaken cautiously, and in safe company.”³⁴ This suggests that a tourist would need to be very careful. The quest undertaken by Doré and Jerrold is, implicitly, just as fraught with danger as that of Dante and Virgil. Though Doré and Jerrold face human beings rather than monsters. Another example is where Jerrold says: “The loiterer will inevitably be crushed or drowned.”³⁵ This is very dramatic as there is a possibility of severe injury or even death for a tourist. Jerrold writes of how, in the slum district, he and Doré “plunge into a maze of courts and narrow streets of low houses.”³⁶ This highlights the difficulty of travel in certain parts of nineteenth century London. It is a maze for people from outside the area. As well as Dante, the journey is thus akin to the work of Charles Dickens, the novelist of an imagined London very like Doré's. Doré and Jerrold take their readers on an exciting journey to a place they would not dare to visit themselves. Their reason for visiting the slums seems to be as much to experience its strangeness and sensational aspects as to investigate it from a social or philanthropic point of view. In some ways they make a game of it.³⁷ Their trip around the city is filled with incidents. According to Nadel:

What Blanchard Jerrold presents is a text that attempts to be poetic yet accurate, romantic yet realistic, imaginative yet authentic. The result, however, is melodrama. This is evident in melodrama's reliance on 'the strength of incident.' It places characters in striking situations, leaving the situations to tell themselves and carefully avoids encumbering them with language.³⁸

Jerrold's text and Doré's illustrations thus take in several literary and artistic styles, whilst also exhibiting a certain exaggeration of, and an appetite for, the unusual and sensational. Their depictions of the lives of the poor, in particular, often have a melodramatic quality. Jerrold describes the inhabitants of the streets of Shadwell as “lolling, heavy-eyed, half-

³³ *London: A Pilgrimage*, pp. xi-xii.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 31. Jerrold goes on to write: “In the Ratcliff district there is a strong dislike to the appearance of people who belong to the West of London. Muttered oaths and coarse jests follow in the wake of the stranger – seasoned in proportion to the richness of his appearance. A fop of St. James's Street would fare badly if he should attempt a solitary pilgrimage to Shadwell. His air of wealth would be regarded as aggressive and impertinent in these regions, upon which the mark of poverty is set, in lively colours,” p. 31.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 38.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 145.

³⁷ See Chapter One for the context in which Doré and Jerrold planned and carried out their visit.

³⁸ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Gustave Doré: English art and London life,” p. 53.

naked children; low-browed and bare-armed women greasing the walls with their backs . . . bullies of every kind walking as masters of the pavement – all sprinkled with drunkenness.”³⁹ This comment seems melodramatic in its focus on the attitudes of these people and their striking features. The illustration *The Docks – Night Scene* (Figure 5.13) is a scene of action. Exactly what is happening is unclear, but there is excitement among the crowd. In the foreground, a man lies on the ground either injured or drunk. This suggests that danger is ever present in this area of the city. Similarly, *Turn them out! – Ratcliff* (Figure 5.14) is a scene of excitement and action. *Thieves Gambling* (Figure 5.15) is another example of the rowdy behaviour of the lower classes of London. The two men playing cards appear cunning and devious. These scenes could be out of Dickens and also have something in common with the work of illustrators such as George Cruikshank. As well as these particularly dramatic illustrations, there are some abrupt changes and transitions within the text. For instance, in the space of a single chapter, Jerrold and Doré take the reader from the lives of the upper classes to those of the lower. This movement from one incident to another is also characteristic of melodrama. Another aspect of the melodramatic in the book is the sentimentality which appears in some depictions of the poor of London. Jerrold writes of the poor that “They are the workless of work-a-day London – born in idleness to die in the workhouse or upon bare boards.”⁴⁰ He also writes: “Here and there we come upon heart-breaking scenes of disease and helplessness.”⁴¹ Though these are true statements of fact, the language Jerrold uses makes it seem melodramatic. There is also a certain amount of melodrama in Doré’s sentimental depiction of children in a charity hospital. In *Infant Hospital Patients* (Figure 5.16), the children look clean and pretty. The nurse appears demure and concerned, while other women console each other or cry to themselves. This sentimentality was very Victorian and would have appealed to the book’s middle-class readers.

In *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage*, the differing treatment of characters or people further supports my contention that the former functions like a guidebook, the latter like a novel. The books are peopled with the authors, artists and others: in the case of *Paris and its Environs*, these are real people from the present or history and in the case of *London: A Pilgrimage* these are often fictional. Ventouillac and Pugin do not make any overt

³⁹ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 120.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 146.

attempts to include themselves in the narrative of *Paris and its Environs*. Instead, they view the life of the city from a distance. Ventouillac retains the distanced perspective of a historian and topographer. As previously discussed, he offers commentary on the architectural and historical features of the buildings and monuments Pugin illustrates. He does refer to himself and Pugin as writer and artist on occasion, but Ventouillac and Pugin generally remain somewhat separate from their subject matter. Pugin never overtly depicts himself in any of the illustrations and nor do his pupils. Though they went to Paris to make specific illustrations, as discussed in Chapter One, Pugin and company never seem to show themselves as artists or include themselves in the action. However, one possible exception to this is *Monument du Général Foy, Père Lachaise* (Figure 5.17). The three well-dressed men in this illustration could easily be Pugin or his pupils as this is probably how they would have been attired according to contemporary portraits.⁴² Nevertheless, there is no overt suggestion that this is the case. On the whole, Pugin and Ventouillac observe from the outside rather than from within the text and the city. This is in direct contrast to Doré and Jerrold.

As well as Pugin's depictions of the people of contemporary Paris, *Paris and its Environs* contains characters within Ventouillac's text. These characters are primarily real Parisians, either contemporary or historical inhabitants of the city. Ventouillac often mentions Napoleon and other political figures who were involved in the revolutions.⁴³ Much of his attention is directed to the architects and builders of the buildings depicted by Pugin. Ventouillac also discusses the people who have owned and lived in them, often members of French royalty. Of the illustration *Palace of the Luxembourg* (Figure 3.18), he writes:

Debrosses was the architect, who completed it in six years for Marie de Medicis. Her son Gaston de France came in possession of it. It was successively the residence of the Duchess of Montpensier, and the Duchess of Guise. It came again into the possession of the baron, and Louis XVI, in 1779, gave it to Monsieur. It is now the Chamber of Peers.⁴⁴

Some of the same architects appear over the course of the book. In this way, it reads as an architectural history as well as one which traces the rise and fall of various political or royal figures. Marie Antoinette is one of the most famous figures who is referred to over the course of the book; Ventouillac refers to she and Louis XVI as “illustrious victims.”⁴⁵ He goes on to describe Marie Antoinette herself as “unfortunate.”⁴⁶ Ventouillac also notes that the Petit

⁴² See the frontispiece of Ferrey's biography of Pugin.

⁴³ See Chapter Three.

⁴⁴ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 19.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 43.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 145.

Trianon was one of her favourite retreats.⁴⁷ Later, he refers to the fact the the opera at Versailles was opened to celebrate her marriage.⁴⁸ In this way, some aspects of her life story unfold over the course of the book, even if these facts are very general. In other cases, Ventouillac sketches out details of a character more fully. An example of this is in the description of *Tombs de Talma, et autres, Père Lachaise*. Ventouillac sketches out Talma's career:

Francis Joseph Talma, born at Paris, 15th of January, 1766, was educated in that capital, and in London, where his father practised as a dentist . . . His family returning to France, young Talma was speedily announced in the character of Seide, in Voltaire's Mahomet. His debut took place on the 27th of November, 1787, and was strikingly successful.⁴⁹

Such references to the privileged are less evident in *London: A Pilgrimage*. The detail of Ventouillac's characterisation is apparent in its focus on the specific dates and places where events occurred. This shows that, for him, characters should be presented in a historically accurate fashion. While characters of Pugin's acquaintance do not often appear in the book, one exception is his friend the Duchess de Berry, whom Ventouillac refers to in his description of *Château de Rosny* (Figure 5.18). There are two figures in the illustration, but it is not apparent who they are. The duchess is thus suggested by her residence rather than depicted as a figure. While the characters in *Paris and its Environs* are usually actual, mythological figures occasionally appear. An example of this is Minerva and Themis, but Ventouillac is describing them as statues.⁵⁰ He never characterises mythological figures as living in the city as for example, Doré does with Father Thames. Thus, Pugin and Ventouillac do not seem to embellish reality or fantasize to the extent Jerrold and Doré do, though *Paris and its Environs* does verge on fiction in the way it presents a highly selective, somewhat idealized vision of Paris.

Where Pugin and Ventouillac retain a distance from their material, Jerrold and Doré place themselves firmly within the narrative. The authors become characters in the story, investigating London from the inside rather than remaining as external observers. This does not compromise the accuracy of Jerrold's information. He does speak from an authoritative perspective on the facts, and while he is *in* the story, he retains a certain distance from his subjects. Nadel suggests: “Jerrold remains an observer, unwilling to involve himself with

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 73.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 86.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 149

⁵⁰ *Paris and its Environs*, p. 55.

what he confronts. His narrative remains that of a stranger.”⁵¹ This does not seem to be entirely the case, however, as Jerrold does show an intimate knowledge of the workings of London. The experience of travel in the city seems more vivid than in *Paris and its Environs* due to the fact that Jerrold and Doré describe themselves as actually undertaking it. The peril of travel seems more immediate since the narrators, themselves, are writing and illustrating their own experience. Jerrold writes of a conversation between himself and Doré: “In the midnight stillness, there was a most impressive solemnity upon the whole, which penetrated the nature of the artist. ‘And they say London is an ugly place!’ was the exclamation. ‘We shall see’, I answered.”⁵² The two are thus characters in their own work and Jerrold reproduces dialogues between them. As well as appearing in the previously discussed *The Two Pilgrims at Highgate* (Figure 5.6), Doré and Jerrold are in the illustration *A Whitechapel Coffee House* (Figure 5.19). Jerrold writes:

We advance into a low, long dark room parted into boxes in which are packed the most rascally company any great city could show. They stare, leer, dig each other in the ribs – fold their black hands over, the cards – and grunt and growl sotto voce as the superintendant reviews them with a firm and placid look of command.⁵³

In the illustration they stand in the middle of the corridor of a coffee house with a policeman under the suspicious gaze of the other patrons. This echoes the text, thus identifying the figures in it as them. Despite coming close to danger at times, they do retain a certain distance from the action and are the observers of action rather than active participants in it. Jerrold writes further of their encounters within the slum areas: “They crowd upon us, with imploring or threatening eyes from under the rages handing over the kitchen fire.”⁵⁴ Another example is: “demands for gin assailed us on all sides.”⁵⁵ He also describes how, in the slum area, “a few of them, loitering about the Whitechapel Road flung a parting sneer of oath at us.”⁵⁶ Doré and Jerrold are characterised as the objects of hostility; positioned as the privileged people of whom the poor are suspicious. The characters played by Doré and Jerrold are akin to reporters or journalists. On the whole, they firmly locate themselves within the narrative.

As well as the authors, there are numerous other characters in *London: A Pilgrimage*. These include characters from history. An example of a real character is Leigh Hunt, the

⁵¹ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Gustave Doré: English art and London life,” p. 62.

⁵² *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 145.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 146.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 149.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 150.

author of an earlier history of London, *The Town*. Jerrold draws a parallel between Hunt's journey around London and his and Doré's. He writes of Hunt as a character in London: "He is, hereupon, off into the quarters that in his day were, to the ordinary man, the dreariest and most repulsive in London."⁵⁷ While the area of London covered by Hunt in *The Town* is much narrower, his history sets a precedent for an account of the areas of London not often visited. While a comparison can be drawn between the real characters in *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage*, a very different example from Doré and Jerrold's book is the character of *The New Zealander* (Figure 5.20). It is in some ways an example of Doré as a Romantic rather than a Realist, and deserves more analysis than I have space for here. Jerrold refers to this character at the beginning, middle and end of the text. He writes at the beginning that their idea for the pilgrimage was "in the happier days of France, when war seemed nearly as far off from Paris as the New Zealander appears to be still from the ruins of London Bridge."⁵⁸ In the middle, Jerrold adds: "In this way, bit by bit, we have made a journey round the world of London: – watching the great city, upon the ruins of which Lord Macaulay's New Zealander is to gaze."⁵⁹ At the end, Doré and Jerrold "gossiped looking towards Wren's grand dome, shaping Macaulay's dream of the far future with the tourist New Zealander upon the broken parapets, contemplating something matching – 'The glory that was Greece – The grandeur that was Rome.'"⁶⁰ The New Zealander is thus a symbol and a marker of the different stages of the London journey. As Nadel suggests, this figure is part of the structural unity of the book.⁶¹ The reference to the New Zealander in Macaulay's writing comes from a review where he writes of the Papacy, "And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."⁶² The image of the New Zealander had also been prevalent earlier.⁶³ Doré's illustration does depict a figure such as this, but this figure does not look like a Maori as it is presumably

⁵⁷ Leigh Hunt, *The Town: Its Memorable Characters and Events*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. i.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 102.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 190.

⁶¹ Ira Bruce Nadel, "London in the Quick: Blanchard Jerrold and the text of *London: A Pilgrimage*," in *The London Journal*, v 2 n 1, May, 1976, p. 60.

⁶² See Macaulay's review of "The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, By Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin: Translated from the German by Sarah Austin. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1840", in *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal*, v LXXII, October, 1840 – January, 1841, pp. 227-258.

⁶³ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: people, streets and images in nineteenth-century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 212-13. According to Nead (p. 214), "The trope of the native from the New World contemplating the ruins of London was reasonably familiar in the Nineteenth century. Edward Gibbon had drawn on this image at the end of the eighteenth century in his account of the genealogy of empires and it took on a renewed vigour in the romantic writings on myth and political history."

intended to be. Maori did not wear this type of costume at that time. Doré's figure does not fit in with the idea of the 'noble savage', either. They look more like an Italian or another European. It is a Romantic image and ties in with the idea of the picturesque as I suggested in Chapter Two. Lynda Nead writes of this illustration:

By 1840 the figure of the New Zealander had both more specific and more general connotations. Britain had just annexed New Zealand, so, for Macaulay, the traveller witnessing the ruins of London represented a particularly prescient reversal of imperial fortune. On the other hand, the New Zealander also signified the most extreme position of difference and alterity from which to view contemporary British society.⁶⁴

This character is thus an imagined one, but with historical significance. The way Doré and Jerrold repeat their reference to this character mirrors the repetition of characters such as Napoleon and Marie Antoinette in *Paris and its Environs*; *The New Zealander* shows how Doré and Jerrold deliberately intermix fact and fiction.

There are characters in *London: A Pilgrimage* who are more obviously fictional. As well as being a central image of the book, the river Thames is personified by Doré. The figure of *Father Thames* (Figure 5.21) was not his invention, but one he chooses to represent on the title page. As Claire Horrocks writes:

One particular device that remained in public discussion throughout the long Victorian period, especially in journals like *Punch*, was the personified figure of Father Thames. The habit of referring to rivers as "Father" had been in common parlance since Roman times, in much the same way that nature had been referred to as "mother." Indeed, the eighteenth century saw references to Father Thames in both sculpture and poetry.⁶⁵

Doré uses this character to locate their pilgrimage within the imaginative sphere. In his illustration, Father Thames is characterized as a mythical Neptune figure dressed in a costume made from seaweed. This character thus links the city to a mythological past. As well as the river being represented by an allegorical figure, London itself is personified by Jerrold:

We have seen the Titan awake and asleep – at work and at play. We have paid our court to him in his brightest and his happiest guises . . . we have looked upon the Titan sick and hungering, and in his evil-doing; as well as in his pomp and splendour of the west, and in the exercise of his noble charities and sacrifices. We have endeavoured to seize representative bits of each of the parts of the whole.⁶⁶

The fact that Jerrold turns the entire city into a character is another instance of the

⁶⁴ Nead (p. 215) also writes: "The dystopic vision of the ruins of Victorian Babylon was not just a figure of the possible distant future, it was a cipher for the experience and condition of modernity itself."

⁶⁵ Claire Horrocks, "The Personification of 'Father Thames': Reconsidering the Role of the Victorian Periodical Press in the 'verbal and visual campaign' for Public Health Reform," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, v 36, n 1, Spring 2003, University of Toronto Press, p. 3.

⁶⁶ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 2.

fictionalization in which he indulges. Another character located within the imaginative sphere rather than the life of contemporary London is the angel in *The Angel and the Orphan* (Figure 5.22). This figure can also be related to Doré's illustrations for *The Divine Comedy*, particularly the angels who appear throughout *The Paradiso*. Where Pugin depicted mythological characters as statues, for Doré they are as real as the people of contemporary London.

There are a number of literary references within *London: A Pilgrimage*. The first of these is from Wordsworth:

Earth has not anything to show more fair! Dull would he be of soul, who could pass by a sight so touching in its majesty: This city now doth like a garment wear the beauty of the morning: silent, bare, ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples lie, open unto the fields, and to the sky; all bright and glittering in the smokeless air.⁶⁷

This quotation suggests a connection to a Romantic view of London. Another is the reference to Dick Whittington. He is depicted by Doré in the illustration *Whittington at Highgate* (Figure 5.23). The illustration depicts Whittington on the outskirts of London with the town visible in the distance. Jerrold writes of the city: "It is indeed an ancient tide of business and pleasure: ancient in the fabled days of the boy Whittington, listening to the bells at Highgate."⁶⁸ Fable is thus used to enrich the mythical origins of the city. This illustration is comparable to the illustration of Doré and Jerrold at Highgate in terms of its composition. By far the most literary references in *London: A Pilgrimage* are from the work of Charles Dickens. At times Jerrold refers to Dickens and his novels as fiction, then at other the characters from them are spoken of as if they were real people. For example, Jerrold characterises the crowds of London people at the derby in terms of characters from Dickens:

On the road, and at the Derby, it is Dickens' children you meet, rather than Thackeray's. All the company of Pickwick – Sam Weller and his father, a hundred times: Mr. Pickwick benevolent and bibulous: Jingle on top of many a coach and omnibus. Pushing through the crowd, nimble, silent and unquiet-eyed, Mr. Fagin's pupils are shadows moving in all directions. The brothers Cheeryble pass in a handsome barouche . . . Tom Allalone offers to dust you down, as you get within the ropes. Mr. Jonas Chuzzlewit has travelled in the congenial company of Scrooge to mark their prey. Mr. Dombey is here . . . Barkiss is as willing as ever . . .⁶⁹

The types of people in London are thus similar to those found in Dickens' novels. These characters are drawn from a variety of novels.⁷⁰ The major references to Dickens in *London:*

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. i, composed upon Westminster Bridge, September 3rd, 1803.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 69.

⁷⁰ These are *The Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Bleak House*, *The Life and Adventures of*

A *Pilgrimage* come from the novels *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* and *Bleak House*. Jerrold also describes Dickens funeral, highlighting his popularity as a novelist.⁷¹ The character of Tom Allalone reappears as a London chimney sweep in Jerrold's text and one of Doré's vignettes, *The Early Riser* (Figure 5.24). Jerrold writes: "the veriest Tom Allalone is to be seen furtively angling for sticklebacks."⁷² Dickens' novels were very popular at the time and it was natural for Jerrold and Doré to take an interest in his work. This is a direct contrast to Pugin, who never uses characters from fiction in his illustrations.

One of the most visible connections to Dickens' London is Doré's illustration *Opium Smoking – The Lascar's Room in "Edwin Drood"* (Figure 5.25) from the novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. His illustration is very different to Luke Fildes' illustration of the same scene *In the Court* (Figure 5.26), which appeared in the original novel. It was a canny move to focus on *Edwin Drood* as this was Dickens' final unfinished novel. The book was originally published in 1870 on Dickens' death, so it was still very topical. In *Edwin Drood*, Dickens describes the room in which a character takes opium. It is owned by an elderly women and its customers include a Lascar as represented by Doré:

He lies, dressed, across a large unseemly bed upon a bedstead that has indeed given way under the weight upon it. Lying, also dressed and also across the bed, not longwise, are a Chinaman, a Lascar, and a haggard woman. The two first are in a sleep or stupor. The last is blowing at a kind of pipe, to kindle it.⁷³

In *London: A Pilgrimage*, Jerrold describes how they came to the same room and:

We are introduced to the room in which "Edwin Drood" opens. Upon the wreck of a four-post bedstead . . . upon a mattress heaped with indescribable clothes, lay, sprawling, a Lascar, dead-drunk with opium; and at the foot of the bed a woman, with a little brass lamp among the rags covering her, stirring the opium, over the tiny flame . . . It was difficult to see any humanity in that face, as the enormous grey dry lips lapped about the rough wood pipe and drew in the poison. The man looked dead. She said he had been out since four in the morning trying to get a job in the docks – and had failed.⁷⁴

Doré's illustration is very theatrical; the scene being lit by the flame the Lascar uses to light his pipe. Doré uses symbolic figures such as the black cat on the stairs to add to this theatricality and tell his story. Doré's illustration, and indeed Jerrold's description, both seem more sensational and theatrical in their depictions of this scene than the originals by Dickens and Fildes. While Fildes' character sprawl all over the bed, there is not the same atmosphere

Martin Chuzzlewit, *A Christmas Carol*, *Dombey and Son* and *David Copperfield*.

⁷¹ See *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 96.

⁷² Ibid, p. 105.

⁷³ Charles Dickens, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (London : Chapman and Hall, 1870), p. 2.

⁷⁴ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 147.

of anticipation as in Doré's illustration. Doré and Jerrold's decision to represent London as that of Dickens would have seemed natural to readers of *London: A Pilgrimage*, many of whom would have been familiar with Dickens' novels. This quoting from Dickens would have made the depiction of London in *London: A Pilgrimage* seem even more exciting and dramatic.

As well as focusing on characters from Dickens, Doré takes aspects from Dickens' London and uses them to inform his conception of the city. The London of *Bleak House* has much in common with the London of *London: A Pilgrimage* and a study of the similarities and differences between the two has been made by Francoise Martin.⁷⁵ According to Martin, there are a number of similar themes and approaches between the two texts. Both contain the image of London as a Prison. Doré does so in scenes such as *Newgate – Exercise Yard*, while in Dickens the place of the Lord Chancellor is described as a curtained sanctuary and the Smallweed home is described as being bricked in on all sides like a tomb. In both Doré and Dickens, the poor are thus depicted within small and closed spaces.⁷⁶ Both represent the dark and light of London: London's rich are shown in the sunlight, while the poor are in dark and obstructed spaces.⁷⁷ Doré and Dickens both depict the two nations, focusing on the divide between the rich and poor: the poverty in which the poor live contrasting with the sumptuous elegance of the rich.⁷⁸ The city is shown to be in motion in each book: there are gates and busy roads and streets.⁷⁹ The representations of childhood are similar in many ways. Dickens uses the motif of the fairytale, drawing from *Puss and Boots* and *Little Red Riding Hood*. Doré does not use fairytales, though there are certain similarities to some of his previous illustrations of the classics. He is often playful – as in the aforementioned *Zoological Gardens – The Monkey House* (Figure 2.32).⁸⁰ Both Doré and Dickens thus highlight the divide between rich and poor in London and use atmospheric detail to highlight their themes. They also represent the chaotic life of the city, its size and the precarious existence of many of its inhabitants. By identifying his London with that of *Bleak House*, Doré emphasizes the sprawling and confusing character of the city.

It should be noted that *Bleak House* is not the only novel by Dickens to feature London.

⁷⁵ Francoise Martin, "L'Image de Londres chez Dickens et Gustave Doré," p. 27.

⁷⁶ See Ibid, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁷ See Ibid, pp. 27-28.

⁷⁸ See Ibid, pp. 28-30.

⁷⁹ See Ibid, pp. 30-32.

⁸⁰ See Ibid, pp. 32-34.

Novels such as *Our Mutual Friend* have a London setting, while others feature London alongside other places. A number of writers have made studies on the representation of London in the novels of Dickens.⁸¹ One of the striking features of Dicken's London is its air of menace and the contrast between light and dark. This occurs in novels such as *The Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*.⁸² This is similar to the contrasts in Doré's London. Other novels such as *Barnaby Rudge* and *Martin Chuzzlewit* focus on the social aspects of life in the city, a theme dealt with by Doré.⁸³ Like Dickens, Doré's view of London is clearly not always a positive one. While the London of *Great Expectations* is not so detailed, it is described as a prison and features references to Newgate. F. S. Schwarzbach suggests the theme of *Our Mutual Friend* is the changing London.⁸⁴ This novel focuses on the Thames, as does Doré. To Doré and Jerrold, the river is a place of commerce, while to Dickens it is sickly and even deadly. *David Copperfield* is another of Dickens novels to feature London. The warehouse in London where David works is squalid and dirty. This is similar to Doré's slums, though quite different from his factories which seem mysterious. There are numerous aspects of London apparent in Dickens' other novels, which could be compared to that of *London: A Pilgrimage*, more than there is space to discuss here. However, among the various appearances of London in Dickens' novels, the London of *Bleak House* is clearly the closest to Doré's in its size and confusion.

The established forms of the guidebook and the novel, respectively, influenced Pugin and Doré's treatment of place, narrative and people. These forms were appropriate for their particular agendas. In Pugin's book, Paris is not arranged according to geographical location. Instead the main attractions are revisited again and again over the course of the book. He uses images such as the river Seine to give the book unity. The central areas of Paris are his focus, though he does visit some outlying areas. The way he does not divide the city into distinct areas adds to his picture of the city as a unified whole. While their journey around Paris is unpredictable in terms of geography, the pace of the narrative seems slow and predictable, with no sense of drama. Creating a detailed, if repetitious narrative, Pugin and Ventouillac maintain an authoritative distance from their subject. They are clearly an artist and a writer and there is no pretence that this is anything other than a guide to the city. Travel

⁸¹ For example, F. S. Schwarzbach, *Dickens and the City* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1979) and Efraim Sicher, *Rereading the city. Rereading Dickens. Representation, the novel, and urban realism* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2003).

⁸² See Schwarzbach, p. 53.

⁸³ See Ibid, pp. 77-81.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 195.

is represented as leisurely, safe and decorous, in line with other aspects of the book. The characters who appear include those with noble connections, royalty, and figures from politics and the arts. On the whole, the book is a descriptive guide to the city for the early nineteenth century English armchair traveller or tourist about to embark on the grand tour.

For Doré, though perhaps not Jerrold, London is split between the East and West. It is divided into distinct areas. Their journey is circular and has the river Thames as a central location. It mirrors that of Dante and Virgil in *The Inferno*, moving through the circles of hell. The different layers of the city are just as dangerous and confusing for a tourist as those of hell. While the journey of Doré and Jerrold has order in terms of geography, the narrative seems fast-paced and filled with drama. The tone of the book is melodramatic and the focus is on the development of action like that of a novel. The narrative itself is a quest, with Doré and Jerrold themselves appearing in the text in starring roles. The mingling of fact and fiction continues in the depiction of character in the book. Some of these are drawn from myth and fable, and are represented as 'real' people in the text and illustrations. By far the majority of these come from the novels of Charles Dickens. Doré's London has much in common with that of Dickens in its atmosphere, its poverty and confusion. On the whole, the use of the novel form, rather than that of a guidebook invest his portrait of London with heightened drama and thus make the social issues, with which he was concerned, more vivid to his readers.



Figure 5.1 *Equestrian Statue of Henry IV*



Figure 5.2 *General View of Paris*

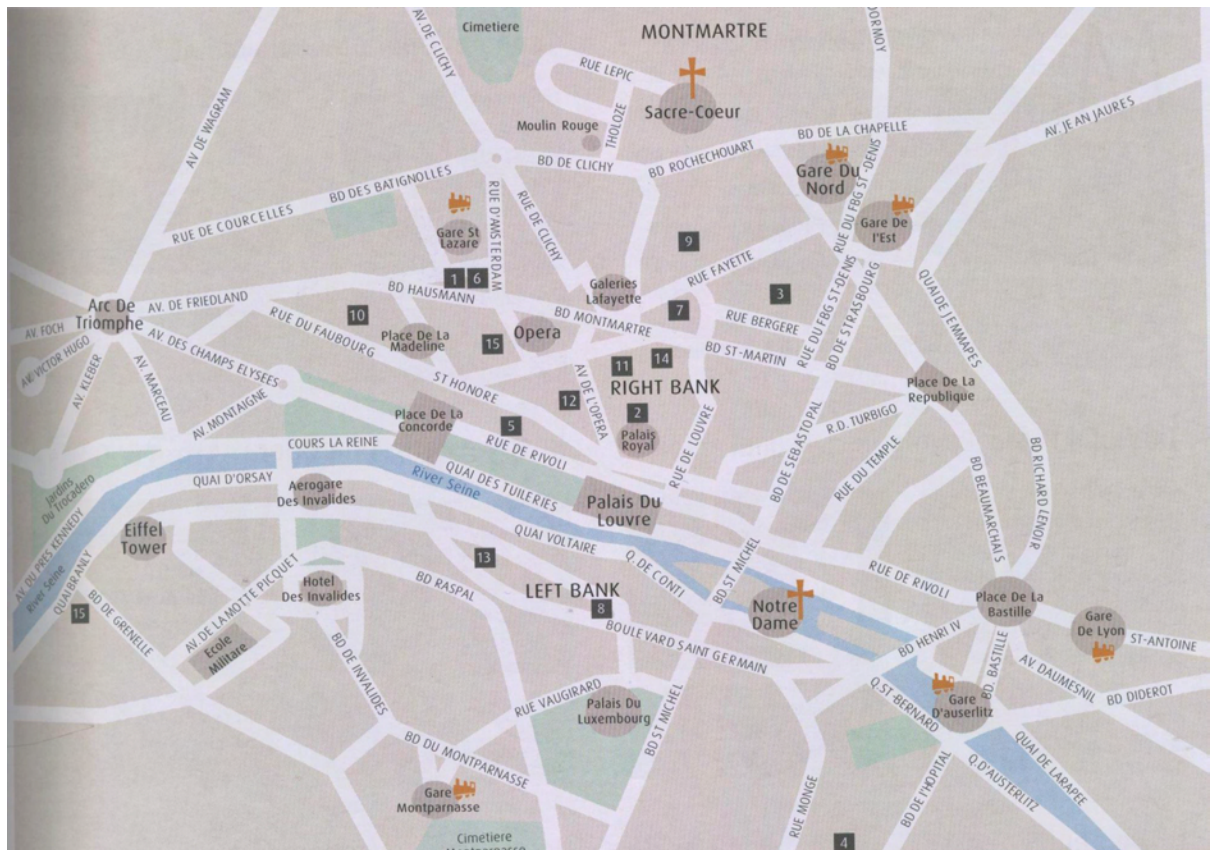


Figure 5.3 Map of Paris

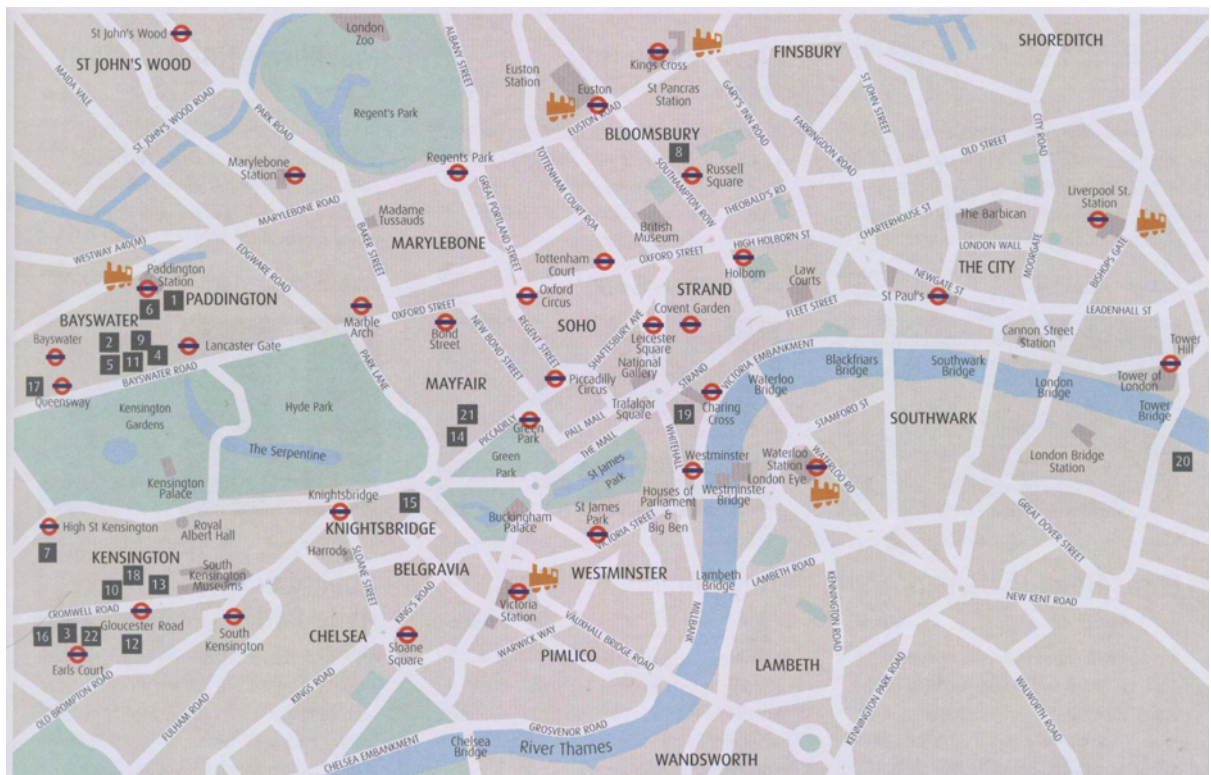


Figure 5.4 Map of London



Figure 5.5 *Place Louis XV, Taken from the Bridge*

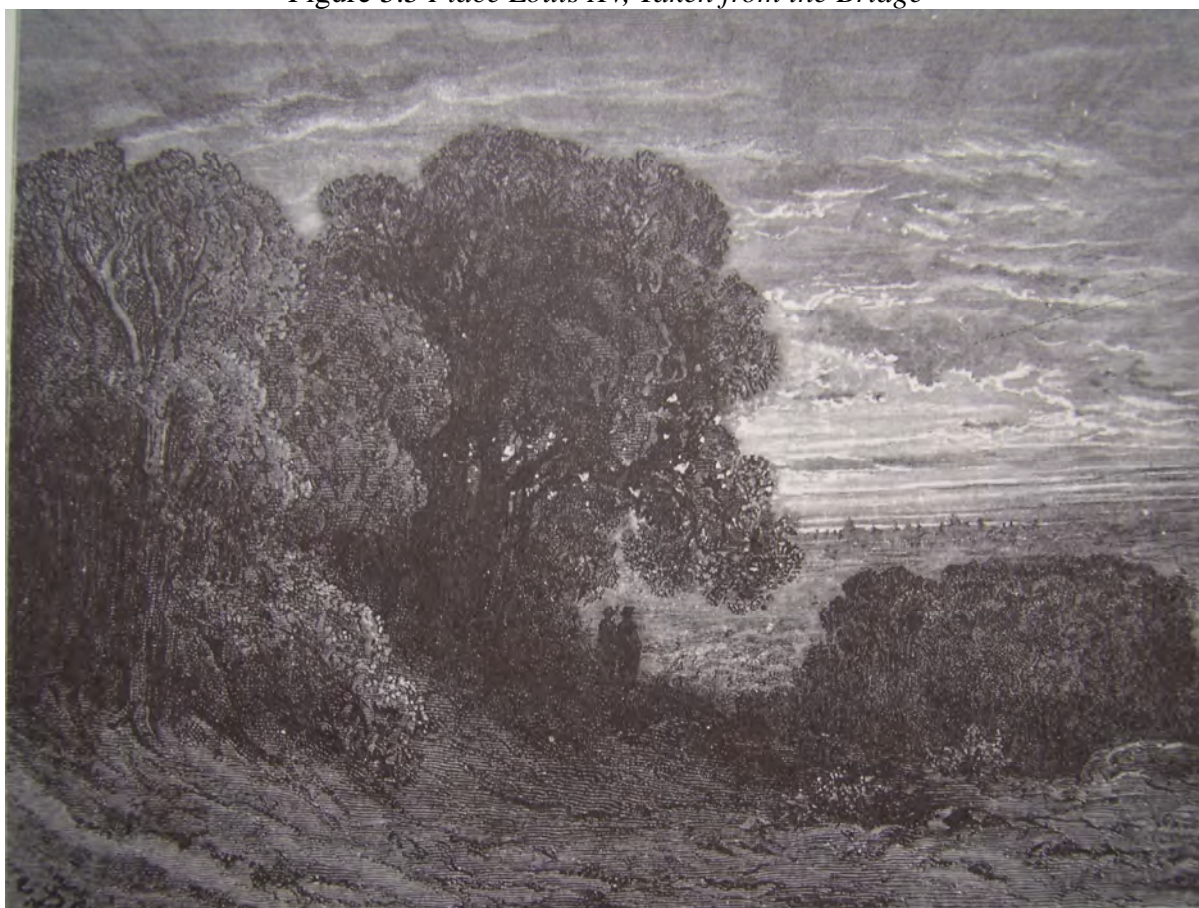


Figure 5.6 *The Two Pilgrims at Highgate*

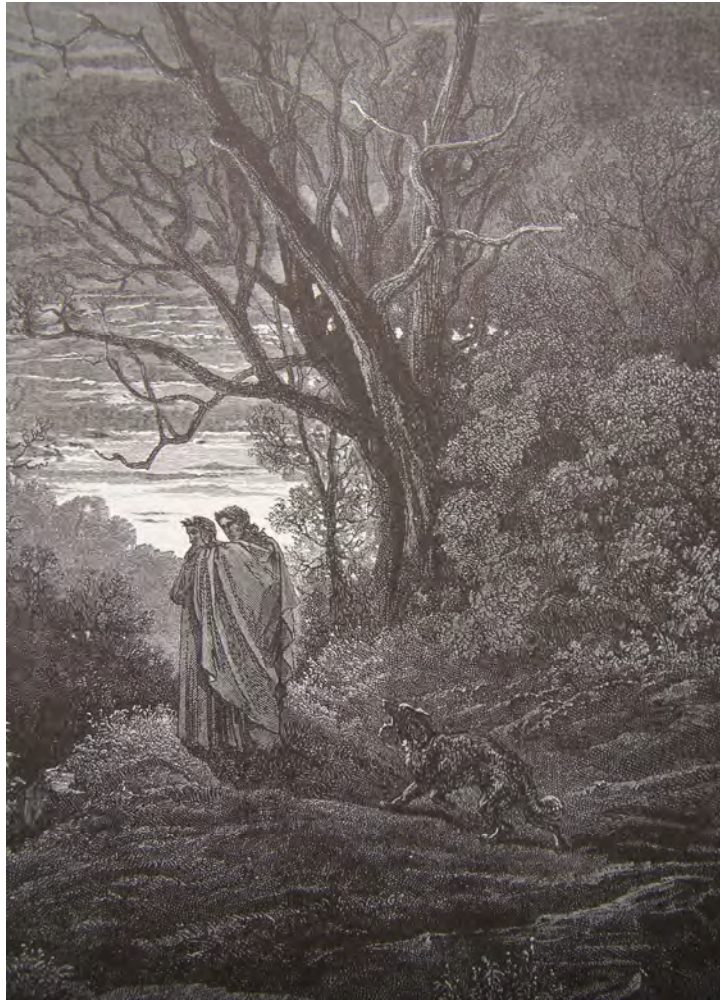


Figure 5.7 *"He, soon as he saw that I was weeping"*



Figure 5.8 *"All Hope Abandon"*

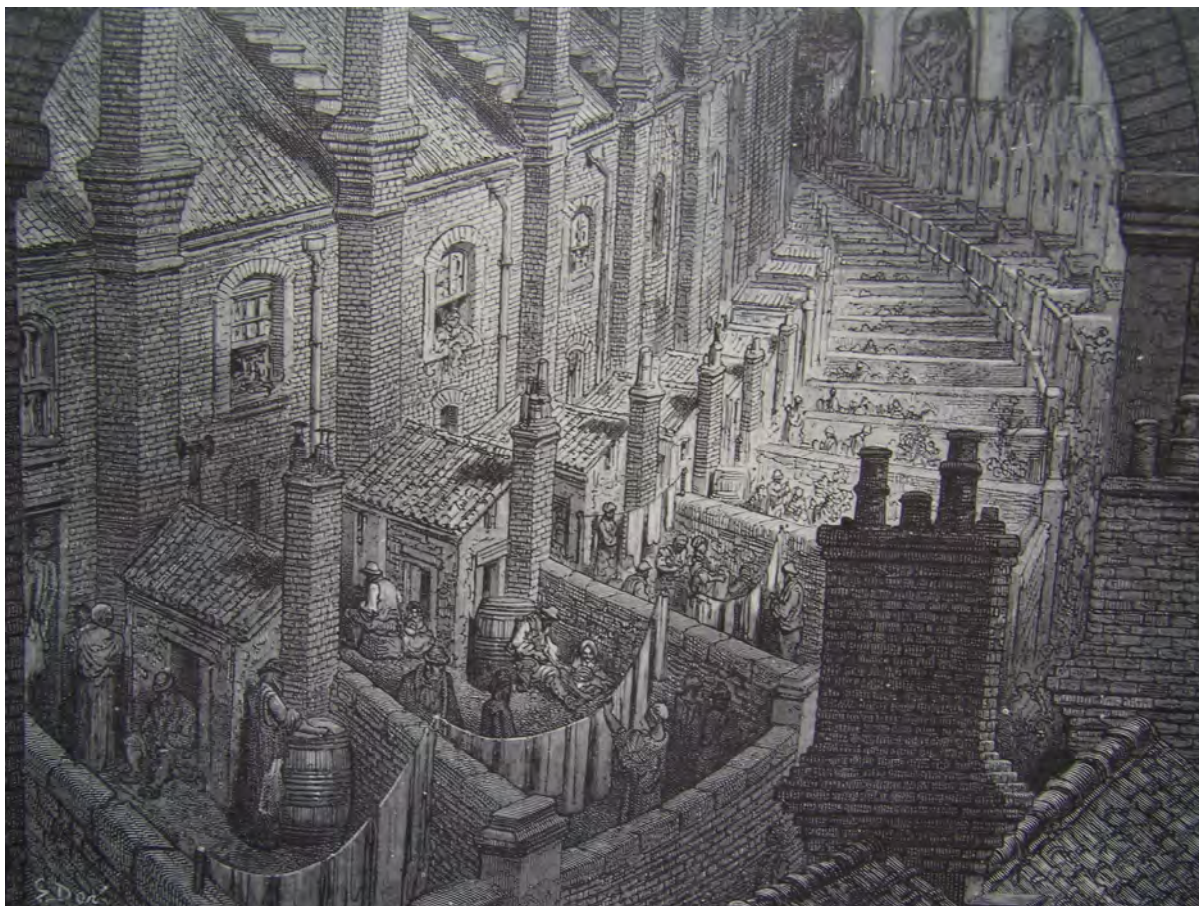


Figure 5.9 *Over London – By Rail*



Figure 5.10 *Mixing the Malt*



Figure 5.11 *“Now seest thou, son! The souls of those”*



Figure 4.12 *“New terror I conceived at the steep plunge”*



Figure 5.13 *The Docks – Night Scene*



Figure 5.14 *Turn them out! – Ratcliff*



Figure 5.15 *Thieves Gambling*



Figure 5.16 *Infant Hospital Patients*



Figure 5.17 *Monument du Général Foy, Père Lachaise*



Figure 5.18 *Château de Rosny*



Figure 5.19 *Whitechapel Coffee House*



Figure 5.20 *The New Zealander*



Figure 5.21 *Father Thames*



Figure 2.22 *The Angel and the Orphan*



Figure 5.23 *Whittington at Highgate*



Figure 5.24 *The Early Riser*



Figure 5.25 *Opium Smoking – The Lascar's Room in “Edwin Drood”*



Figure 5.26 *In the Court*

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have closely compared Pugin's *Paris and its Environs* with Doré's *London: A Pilgrimage*. As I previously noted, this comparison has never been made before within English-language scholarship and it reveals many interesting things about each publication. I considered both books within the oeuvres of the artists and writers involved, revealing that they were both instances of the artists creating populist works. I then suggested that Pugin's illustrations exemplify the picturesque, while Doré's are closer to the style and content of Realism. This comparison revealed how each artist shaped their chosen city to suit these conventions. By considering the representation of social and political issues in each book, I discovered the ways Pugin celebrates the city and Doré critiques it. By comparing *Paris and its Environs* and *London: A Pilgrimage* with other English views of Paris and French views of London, I showed what was specific to Pugin and Doré's depictions of the city and how they built on the ideas of previous artists and writers. I then looked at the forms of each book, suggesting *Paris and its Environs* can be considered as an illustrated guidebook, presenting a flattering view of Paris, while *London: A Pilgrimage* is more akin to a novel and manages to be critical, while presenting an entertaining and melodramatic quest narrative to its readers.

By examining Pugin's *Paris and its Environs*, I have given attention to an often overlooked publication which despite being called “a hastily conceived potboiler,” is valuable in the way it reveals how the English saw Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹ Though it has never been reprinted since its initial publication, it is important within Pugin's oeuvre as it shows him adapting his illustration for a popular audience as well as representing the city from where he came. Pugin does not include anything in his illustrations which will shock the book's readers. Instead he indulges their taste for the picturesque, representing the city as a clean and historically rooted place filled with attractions for tourists. Through his depiction of Paris as an ordered, unified and elegant capital, Pugin celebrates the city. He also expresses an admiration for the government and developments in industry. Pugin does not view the city in terms of class conflict. Even the political upheavals of the time (namely, the events of the July Monarchy) do not, in Pugin's view, cause the disintegration of Paris either physically or socially. His French origins allowed Pugin to represent the customs of France in an accurate way, though he also wished to present his

¹ Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 78.

country to English readers in a flattering light, and in turn flatter them and their tastes. A clarity and detail of description is evident in both Pugin's illustrations and Ventouillac's accompanying text. The clarity and authority of the narrative reflects the form of the guidebook. The city is depicted as a whole in terms of geography. While Pugin and Ventouillac's journey is unpredictable in terms of the layout of Paris, it seems slow and leisurely in pace. The book is given unity by the recurring image of the river Seine, and other highlights of the capital. As such, it would have made pleasant viewing for the aspiring middle class reader of the early nineteenth century. For twenty-first century readers Pugin's book reveals much about the ideas and values of that epoch.

My study of *London: A Pilgrimage* adds to existing scholarship by showing how it compares to *Paris and its Environs*. *London: A Pilgrimage* is an example of Doré's Realism. He provides a strong critique of the city, contrasting with Jerrold's often much more positive view. They set up the journey around London as an imaginative pilgrimage into the city – one akin to Dante and Virgil's journey into hell in *The Inferno*. They themselves become characters in the book along with the people of contemporary London, characters from the novels of Dickens, and other characters either real or imagined. Doré does not avoid representing class conflict in the way Pugin does. He shows the class divide and the sufferings of the lower classes. The upper classes are shown to be as entrapped by the city as the dwellers of the slums of the East End. The class divide is mirrored by the division in the book, of London, into East and West. The city as a whole is represented as a dirty and disordered place, and industry is seen as a negative rather than a positive development. Doré and Jerrold move around in an orderly manner in terms of geography, but the narrative of the book is fast-paced and melodramatic. The image of the Thames is central to the book and the circularity of the narrative again links to *The Inferno*. The movement from one incident to another echoes the serial novelist's need to hold a readers attention. The popularity and influence of the book shows how illustrations of the city could move beyond pleasing the senses and aspire towards genuine social criticism.

An interesting aspect of my comparison of the two publications is the relationship between the images and text in each book. In *Paris and its Environs* the text explicates the illustrations, while in *London: A Pilgrimage* the text and illustrations are often contradictory. Ventouillac's text adds to Pugin's illustrations in that it provides extra historical and topographical details, but it is not vital to a reader's appreciation of the illustrations. The view

of both artist and writer is a flattering one, with their readership always in mind. On the other hand, Jerrold's view of the city often contradicts that of Doré. However, Jerrold's text is just as interesting and adds to the book as a whole. As much as Doré, Jerrold holds the attention of readers with his fast paced narrative and shows an insight into life in the capital. While Jerrold's view is not as critical as Doré's the view that his text is "painfully spasmodic" is unfair.²

In my view, both of these publications are of great interest in providing insights into Paris and London in the nineteenth century. In *Paris and its Environs*, Pugin creates a view of the city which is picturesque, but includes many unexpected scenes. With his effective use of artistic techniques, he creates a variety of illustrations which show the range of life in the city from the post offices to the palaces. While the scenes do appear uniform in many ways, Pugin's attention to detail and surfaces makes them interesting. In *London: A Pilgrimage*, Doré and Jerrold create a dynamic and exciting view of nineteenth century London. The contrast between the lives of the upper and lower classes is particularly effective. The illustrations themselves are varied and demonstrate Doré's skills in combining Realism and elements from fiction. The melodramatic tone and exaggeration are appropriate as they allow Doré and Jerrold to represent their complex city subject in an effective way. Jerrold's prose is a fitting accompaniment to these illustrations as it allows a reader to follow two slightly different views of life in the city and draw their own conclusions from them. Though both publications were intensely topical when they appeared, the passage of time has not made them irrelevant. They both represent moments in the evolution of modern, urban life. Pugin's book reflects a confidence in the abilities of governments and town planners to organize aspects of citizens' lives, while Doré's book acknowledges that the reality of life in a large city means such organization is difficult to achieve. On the whole, both artists achieve compelling representations of the city in their books. As Jerrold writes in the preface, "Wherever human creatures congregate there is interest, in the eye of the artist and the literary observer; and the greatest study of mankind may be profitably pursued on any rung of the social ladder – at the work-house threshold or by the gates of a palace."³

² *Illustrated London News*, n 1687, v LX, Saturday 6 January, 1872, p. 18.

³ *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. xii.

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Appendices

List of plates in *Paris and its Environs* with artists, engravers and date of printing

1. Vignette - *Equestrian Statue of Henry IV*.
2. Vignette - *General view of Paris*.
3. *Pont Neuf, from Pont des Arts*. A. Pugin. Tho. Barber. August 15, 1828.
4. *Pont des Arts from the Pont Royal*. A. Pugin. Tho. Barber. August 15, 1828.
5. *Abattoir at Montmartre*. A. Pugin. H. Wallis. August 15, 1828.
6. *Pont au Change*. A. Pugin. H. Wallis. August 15, 1828.
7. *West Front of the Church of Notre Dame*. A. Pugin. J. Tingle.
8. *West Front of the Church of St. Sulpice*. A. Pugin. J. Tingle.
9. *Court of the Louvre*. A. Pugin. E. T. Roberts. September 30, 1828.
10. *Hôtel de Cluny*. A. Pugin. E. T. Roberts. September 30, 1828.
11. *Place de Louis XV, Taken from the Bridge*. A. Pugin. W. Tombleson. August 15, 1828.
12. *Pont Louis XVI, from Pont Royal*. A. Pugin. W. Tombleson. August 15, 1828.
13. *Palais de la Legion d'Honneur*. A. Pugin. J. Henshall. November 1, 1828.
14. *Hotel de Ville*. A. Pugin. J. Henshall. November 1, 1828.
15. *Château d'Eau*. J. Nash. H. Wallis.
16. *Colonnade du Louvre*. J. Nash. H. Wallis. December 10, 1828.
17. *Palais de Justice, from the Court Yard*. B. Ferrey. J. Romney. December 1, 1828.
18. *Fontaine de Grenelle*. T. T. Bury. J. Romney. December 1, 1828.
19. *View taken from the Pont des Arts*. T. Kearmandel. Romney.
20. *Rue de Rivoli*. B. Ferrey. Romney. January 15, 1829.
21. *Palace of the Luxembourg*. B. Ferrey. E. T. Roberts.
22. *Palace of the Duke of Orleans (Garden Front)*. T. T. Bury. E. T. Roberts. January 15, 1829.
23. *Screen to the Court Yard, Chamber of Deputies*. T. T. Bury. Mils Byrne.
24. *Banque de France*. B. Ferrey. Mils Byrne. Feb 1, 1829.
25. *La Bourse*. T. T. Bury. J. Tingle.
26. *Italian Opera House (South Front)*. T. T. Bury. J. Tingle. February 1, 1829.
27. *Sainte Chapelle*. A. Pugin Jun. Redaway. February 1, 1829.
28. *Café Turc*. J. Nash. J. Redaway.
29. *Porte St. Martin*. T. T. Bury. J. Henshall. February 15, 1829.

30. *Porte St. Denis*. B. Ferrey. J. Henshall. February 15, 1829.
31. *Fontainebleau, Place d' Armes*. B. Ferrey. J. Havell. February 15, 1829.
32. *Fontainebleau, Cour des Fontaines*. A Pugin Jun. J. Havell. February 15, 1829.
33. *Fontaine Gaillon*. J. Nash. J. Winkle. March 1, 1829.
34. *Fontaine des Innocents*. J. Nash. J. Winkle. March 1, 1829.
35. *Pavillon de Flore, et Pont Royal*. B. Ferrey. J. Lewis. March 2, 1829.
36. *Colonne de la Place Vendôme*. J. Nash. J. Lewis. March 2, 1829.
37. *Eglise de Saint Etienne du Mont*. J. Nash. Romney. April 1, 1829.
38. *Eglise de Saint Denis*. J. Nash. Romney. April 1, 1829.
39. *Théâtre des Nouveautés*. T. T. Bury. E. J. Havell. April 15, 1829.
40. *Eglise de Montmartre*. J. Nash. E. J. Havell. April 15, 1829.
41. *Palais Royal (Street Front)*. B. Ferrey. J. Henshall. April 15, 1829.
42. *Grand Bureau de la Poste*. J. Nash. J. Henshall. April 15 1829.
43. *Palais de Versailles, Façade du Jardin*. T. T. Bury. Mils Byrne. May 1, 1829.
44. *Palais de Versailles, Cour Royale*. T. T. Bury. Mils Byrne. May 1, 1829.
45. *Chapelle Expiatoire de Louis XVI*. B. Ferrey. B. Winkles. May 15, 1829.
46. *Pont au Change (Looking West, taken from the Water Works)*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. May 15, 1829.
47. *Halle au Vins*. J. Nash. M. S. Barrenger. June 1, 1829.
48. *Ecuries du Roi, Faubourg du Roule*. J. Nash. M. S. Barrenger. June 1, 1829.
49. *Château St. Germain en Laie*. A. Pugin Jun. Starling.
50. *Ecole de Medicine*. T. T. Bury. Starling. June 1, 1829.
51. *Tour de St. Jacques la Boucherie*. J. Nash. Romney. June 1, 1829.
52. *Ecuries du Roi, Rue St. Thomas du Louvre*. J. Nash. Romney. June 1, 1829.
53. *Chapelle des Invalides (East Front)*. B. Ferrey. J. Tingle. June 1, 1829.
54. *Eglise de St. G  nevieve*. A. Pugin Jun. J. Tingle. June 1, 1829.
55. *Barri  re de l' Etoile, ou de Neuilly*. T. T. Bury. T. Winkles.
56. *Rotonde, Passage Colbert*. J. Nash. T. Winkles. July 1, 1829.
57. *Chambre des D  put  s et Pont Louis XVI*. J. Nash. Mils Byrne.
58. *Hospice de Bic  tre*. J. Nash. Mils Byrne. July 1, 1829.
59. *Poste Royale*. J. Nash. J. Davis.
60. *Messagerie Royale*. J. Nash. J. Davis. July 1, 1829.
61. *Monument de la Famille Bouch  e, P  re Lachaise*. J. Nash. W. Faithorn.
62. *Rue Castiglione (Qui donne vers la Place Vend  me)*. W. Price. W. Faithorn. July 1, 1829.

63. *Passage du Saumon*. J. Nash.
64. *La Morgue, Quai Notre Dame*. W. Price. July 1, 1829.
65. *Palais de Fontainebleau, Cour d' Honneur*. T. T. Bury. E. T. Roberts.
66. *Château de Fontainebleau*. T. T. Bury. E. T. Roberts. July 1, 1829.
67. *Pont Royal et Hotel des Gardes du Corps*. T. T. Bury. Radcliffe.
68. *L' Eglise de Notre Dame, Vers l' Orient*. A. Pugin Jun. Radcliffe.
69. *L' Eglise de St. Merri, Rue St. Martin*. A. Shaw. J. Havell July 1, 1829.
70. *L' Eglise de St. Eustache*. A. Shaw. J. Havell. July 1, 1829.
71. *Hôtel de Cluny. Dans le quinzieme siecle*. A. Pugin Jun. J. Nash.
72. *Notre Dame (Vue du Midi)*. J. Nash. J. Havell. August 1, 1829.
73. *L' Interieur de la Chapelle des Invalides*. B. Ferrey. J. Winkle. July 1, 1829.
74. *L' Escalier de la Chambre des Pairs*. T. T. Bury. J. Winkle. July 1, 1829.
75. *Père Lachaise*. T. T. Bury. Romney.
76. *Petit Trianon*. T. T. Bury. Romney. August 1, 1829.
77. *L' Eglise de St. Roche*. B. Ferrey. Romney. August 1, 1829.
78. *L' Eglise de l' Oratoire*. T. T. Bury. Romney. August 1, 1829.
79. *Fontainebleau, Vers le Jardin*. A. Pugin Jun. B. Winkles.
80. *Fontainebleau, Cour d' Honneur*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. October 1, 1829.
81. *Eglise de St. Germain. l' Auxerrois*. A. Pugin Jun. J. Redaway.
82. *Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin*. J. Nash. J. Redaway. October 15, 1829.
83. *Fontainebleau, Porte dorée*. B. Ferrey. J. Tingle. October 1, 1829.
84. *Fontainebleau, Entrée aux Apartemens Principaux, Cour d' Honneur*. B. Ferrey. J. Tingle. October 1, 1829.
85. *Prison de l'Abbaye St. Germain*. J. Nash. J. Lewis. October 15, 1829.
86. *L' Escalier du Palais de Justice*. B. Ferrey. J. Lewis. October 15, 1829.
87. *Versailles, l' Opera, Vers le Réservoir*. J. Nash. Mils Byrne.
88. *Chapelle du Palais de Versailles*. A. Pugin Jun. Mils Byrne.
89. *Barrière de la Cunette*. J. Nash. J. C. Kernott.
90. *L' Observatoire*. J. Nash. J. C. Kernott. November 1, 1829.
91. *Intérieur de la Chapelle Val de Grace*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. November 15, 1829.
92. *Intérieur de Notre Dame*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. November 15, 1829.
93. *Fontainebleau, Cour des Cuisines*. A. Pugin Jun. T. Owen.
94. *Fontainebleau, Cour d' Honneur*. b. Ferrey. T. Owen. November 15, 1829.
95. *Monument de la Famille Perrigaux, Père Lachaise*. J. Nash. J. Henshall.

96. *Chapelle de la Vierge, St. Sulpice*. J. Nash. J. Henshall.
 97. *Timbre Royal*. J. Nash. T. Bradley.
 98. *Cour du Ministre des Finances*. B. Ferrey. T. Bradley. September, 1829.
 99. *Hospice de la Salpêtrière*. B. Ferrey. B. Winkles.
 100. *Palais de Justice, vers la Rue de la Barillerie*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. December 15, 1829.
 101. *Monument d'Abélard et d'Héloïse, Père Lachaise*. J. Nash. R. Fenner. December 15, 1829.
 102. *Pompe à Feu, Gros Caillou*. W. Price. R. Fenner. December 15, 1829.
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103. *Maison de Francois I aux Champs Elysées*. B. Ferrey. January 1, 1830.
 104. *Porte d'Entrée du Château de Vincennes*. J. Nash. January 1, 1830.
 105. *Vue du Louvre, du Palais de l'Institut*. A. Pugin Jun. F. J. Havell.
 106. *Palais des Tuileries, du côté du Jardin*. B. Ferrey. F. J. Havell. January 1, 1830.
 107. *Vue du Pont Neuf, Prise entre le Quai des Augustines et Celui des Orfèvres*. J. Nash. Kernet.
 108. *Monument, Père Lachaise*. J. Nash. Kernet. February 15, 1830.
 109. *Pont d'Austerlitz*. J. Nash. R. Wallis.
 110. *Hôpital de l'Hotel Dieu*. B. Ferrey. R. Wallis. February 15, 1830.
 111. *Halle au Blé*. W. Bevan. Lowry. March 1, 1830.
 112. *Théâtre des Variétés*. J. Nash. Lowry. March 1, 1830.
 113. *Bibliothèque Royale*. T. T. Bury. Mils Byrne.
 114. *Hôtel des Monnaies*. J. Nash. Mils Byrne. Jan 1? 1830.
 115. *Père Lachaise, Monuments de Masséna de Lefebvre &c*. T. T. Bury. Romney.
 116. *Eglise de St. Philippe du Roule*. T. T. Bury. Romney. January 1, 1830.
 117. *Place Louis Seize*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles.
 118. *Cascade de St. Cloud*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. March 15, 1830.
 119. *Canal de l'Ourcq*. J. Nash. R. Wallis.
 120. *Menagerie, Jardin des Plantes*. J. Nash. R. Wallis. April 1, 1830.
 121. *Chapelle de la Prison de la Conciergerie*. J. Nash. B. Winkles.
 122. *L'Entree de la Prison de la Conciergerie*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. April 1, 1830.
 123. *Vue du Pont d'Austerlitz*. A. Pugin Jun. Eliz Byrne.
 124. *Nouveau Théâtre Feydeau*. T. T. Bury. Eliz Byrne. April 15, 1830.

125. *Paris, Prise du Pont d' Austerlitz*. J. Nash. Starling.
126. *Place Royale*. A. Pugin Jun. Starling. April 13, 1830.
127. *Barrière St. Denis*. J. Nash. W. Taylor.
128. *Cour Royale, Hôtel des Invalides*. B. Ferrey. W. Taylor. May, 1830.
129. *Pont de Iéna*. J. Nash. Faithorne.
130. *Cour du Château de St. Germain-en-Laie*. J. Nash. Faithorne. May 1, 1830.
131. *Monuments, Père Lachaise*. J. Nash. Ridgeway.
132. *Marché aux Fleurs*. J. Nash. Ridgeway. June 1, 1830.
133. *Pompe à Feu, Passy*. T. T. Bury. Lewis. June 1, 1830.
134. *Donjon du Château de Vincennes*. J. Nash. Lewis. June 1, 1830.
135. *Place des Victoires*. J. Nash. Lowry.
136. *Quai des Orfèvres*. J. Nash. June 1, 1830.
137. *Grand Trianon, Versailles*. T. T. Bury. Gladwin.
138. *Cour du Palais de la Légion d' Honneur*. T. T. Bury. Gladwin. June 1, 1830.
139. *Pont de la Tournelle*. J. Nash. Tingle.
140. *Château d' Eau, vers Palais Royal*. J. Nash. Tingle. June 15, 1830.
141. *Palais de la Legion d' Honneur*. T. T. Bury. H. Cook.
142. *Palais du Duc d' Orleans (Prise de la Cour)* . T. T. Bury. W. Faithorn. April 1, 1830.
143. *Place du Chatelet, Prise du Quai de l' Horloge*. J. Finch. B. Winkles. July 1, 1830.
144. *Fontaine du Chatelet*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. July 1, 1830.
145. *Hôtel du Preux (Rue des Bourdonnais)*. A. Pugin Jun. Roberts.
146. *Hôtel de l' Ambassadeur d' Angleterre*. A. Pugin Jun. Roberts. July 15, 1830.
147. *Canel de l' Ourcq (Sous la Fontaine de l' Eléphant)*. J. Nash. G. Winkles. July 1, 1830.
148. *Chapelle Expiatoire, Conciergerie*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. July 1, 1830.
149. *Théâtre de l' Ambigu Comique*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co. August 1, 1830.
150. *Modele de l' Eléphant de la Place de la Bastille*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co. August 1, 1830.
151. *Monument de Talma et autres, Père Lachaise*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co. August 1, 1830.
152. *Monument du Général Foy, Père Lachaise*. J Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co. August 1, 1830.
153. *Barrière de Passy*. J. Nash. Watkins.
154. *Vue de la Seine, Prise de dessous le Pont*. J. Nash. Watkins. August 15, 1830.
155. *Palais de St. Cloud, Vue du Midi*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co.
156. *Ecuries du Roi, Versailles*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co. October 1, 1830. .

157. *Val de Grace*. B. Ferrey. Thompson. August 15, 1830.
158. *Entrée du Palais du Luxembourg*. T. T. Bury. Thompson. August 15, 1830.
159. *Halle au Blé*. T. T. Bury. Fenner, Sears & Co.
160. *Académie Royale de Musique*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. September 1, 1830.
161. *Notre Dame et le Pont Rouge*. J. Nash. Westley.
162. *Vue de la Seine, Prise du Pont Louis XVI*. J. Nash. Westley. September 1, 1830.
163. *Dome des Invalides*. B. Ferrey. Engraved and Printed by Fenner, Sears, & Co. October 15, 1830.
164. *Eglise de St. Eustache*. B. Ferrey. Engraved and Printed by Fenner, Sears & Co.
165. *Marché St. Germain*. B. Ferrey. B. Winkles.
166. *Garde Meuble, Vers la Place Louis XVI*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. October 1, 1830.
167. *Palais de l' Institut*. T. T. Bury. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
168. *Arc de Triomphe, Palais des Tuileries*. B. Ferrey. Fenner, Sears, & Co. November 13, 1830.
169. *Paris du Pont Neuf, vers l' Occident*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
170. *Champ de Mars et Ecole Militaire*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. November 1, 1830.
171. *Château d' Eau, Jardin du Luxembourg*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. December 1, 1830.
172. *Eglise de St. Eustache, Vers l' Occident*. T. T. Bury. B. Winkles. December 1, 1830.
173. *Extérieur de la Chapelle Expiatoire de Louis XVI*. T. T. Bury. Owen.
174. *Hôtel du Garde du Corps*. B. Ferrey. Owen. November 1, 1830.
175. *Galerie de Francois I, Fontainebleau*. B. Ferrey. B. Winkles.
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177. *Octroi Général*. T. T. Bury. Winkles.
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180. *Chapelle du Calvaire, Eglise de St. Roche*. T. T. Bury. Fenner, Sears, & Co. January 15, 1831.
181. *Pont Louis XVI*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears & Co.
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183. *Ecole Militaire, Façade Méridionale*. T. T. Bury. W. Watkins.
184. *Hôtel des Invalides, Façade Principale*. B. Ferrey. W. Watkins. February 15, 1831.
185. *Château Royal de Meudon (Prés de Fleury)*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. March 1, 1831.
186. *Tombeau consacré à la mémoire de ceux qui périrent dans la révolution de 1830 (près du Louvre)*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. March 1, 1831.

187. *Cour du Palais Royal*. B. Ferrey. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
188. *Départ de la Populace, Pour Rambouillet*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. April 1, 1831.
189. *Entrée du Palais de Philippe I, à Neuilly*. B. Ferrey. B. Winkles.
190. *Jardins des Tuileries, Près de la Grande Entrée*. J. Nash. B. Winkles. April 1, 1831.
191. *Pont de Bois, Choisi le roi*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
192. *Caserne Suisse, Rue de Babylone, 29 Juillet, 1830*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. April 15, 1831.
193. *Tombeau consacré à la mémoire de ceux qui périrent, 29 Juillet, 1830*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. April 15, 1831.
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195. *Pont des Champs Elysées*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
196. *Pont d' Arcole*. B. Ferrey. Fenner, Sears, & Co. May 1, 1831.
197. *Ecole Polytechnique*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
198. *Chambre des Pairs, pendant le procès de Polignac, Peyronnet, &c*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co. May 1, 1831.
199. *Intérieur de St. Etienne du Mont*. ?. Fenner, Sears, & Co. June 1, 1831.
200. *Intérieur de la Galerie du Palais Royal*. ?. Fenner, Sears, & Co. June 1, 1831.
201. *Incendie de la Barrière St. Denis, 29 Juillet, 1830*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
202. *Intérieur de la Bourse*. B. Ferrey. Fenner, Sears, & Co. June 1, 1831.
203. *Château de Rosny*. J. Nash. Fenner, Sears, & Co.
204. *Bains Vigniers, Pont Royale*. B. Ferrey. Fenner, Sears, & Co. June 1, 1831.

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119. *The Royal Exchange*. Degree.

120. *Coffee Stall – Early Morning*. H. Pisan.

121. *The Rag Merchant's Home-Coulston Street, Whitechapel*. Pannemaker. Fils.

122. *Jewish Butchers – Aldgate*. Vien.

123. *Wentworth Street, Whitechapel*. Bertrand.

124. *The Old Clothesman*. Pannemaker. Fils.

125. *A Flower Girl*. J. Gauchard.

126. *Houndsditch*. H. Pisan.

127. *The Ginger Beer Man*. Pannemaker.

Chapter XVI. The Town of Malt.

128. *In the Brewery*.

129. *Mixing the Malt*.

130. *St. Paul's from the Brewery Bridge*.

131. *The Great Vats*. Pannemaker. Fils.

132. *Brewer's Men*. Hildebrand.

133. *Brewer's Dray*.

Chapter XVII. Under Lock and Key.

134. *The Turnkey*.

135. *Newgate-Exercise Yard*. H. Pisan.

136. *Thieves Gambling*. Joliet.

137. *Bluegate Fields*. H. Pisan.

138. *Whitechapel Refreshments*. J. Gauchard.

Chapter XVIII. Whitechapel and Thereabouts.

139. *A Whitechapel Coffee House*. Pannemaker.

140. *Asleep in the Streets*. J. Gauchard.

141. *Waifs and Strays*. Levasseur.

142. *Scripture Reader in a Night Refuge*. Pannemaker-Doms.

143. *A House of Refuge – In the Bath*.

144. *The Bull's Eye*. Pannemaker-Doms.

145. *Whitechapel – A Shady Place*.

146. *Opium Smoking – The Lascar's Room in “Edwin Drood”*. A. Doms.

147. *Turn Him Out! – Ratcliff*. H. Pisan.

148. *Coffee Shop – Petticoat Lane*. H. Pisan.

149. *Billingsgate – Early Morning*. A. Doms.

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150. *Columbia Market*. Degree.

151. *Billingsgate – Opening the Market*. J. Gauchard.

152. *Billingsgate – Landing of the Fish*. V. Fournier.

153. *Borough Market*. Pannemaker.

154. *Covent Garden Market – Early Morning*. Gauchard. Brinnier.

155. *Gloucester Street, New Cut – Old Clothes Mart*. A. Levasseur.

156. *Off Billingsgate*. H. Pisan.

157. *Hardware Dealer – New Cut Market*. Quesnel.

158. *Dudley Street, Seven Dials*. Quesnel.

159. *The Butcher – Newport Market Alley*. Vien.

Chapter XX. London at Play.

160. *At Evan's*.
161. *Hampstead Heath*. Gauchard. Brunier.
162. *Home from Hampton Court Races*. F. Ann.
163. *The Penny Gaff*. Gauchard. Brunier.
164. *Penny Gaff Frequenters*.
165. *Blondin at Shoreditch*. Gauchard.
166. *Lord's*. Pannemaker. Fils.
167. *Croquet*. Jonnard.
168. *A Ball at the Mansion House*. Jonnard.
169. *The Milkwoman*. Diolot.
170. *The Organ in the Court*. A. Levasseur.
171. *A Cold Resting Place*.
172. *Punch and Judy*. Diolot.
- Chapter XXI. London Charity.
173. *Asleep under the Stars*. Jonnard.
174. *The Angel and the Orphan*. Pannemaker.
175. *Marlbrough House – Expecting the Prince*.
176. *Refuge – Applying for Admittance*. Jonnard.
177. *Found in the Street*. A. Doms.
178. *Under the Arches*. J. Hoyet.
179. *The New Zealander*. Pannemaker. Fils.
180. *Infant Hospital Patients*. A. Vien.

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(References are from Hunnisett; where the reference is uncertain, there is a question mark)

Tho Barber (p. 14)

R. Wallis (p. 95)

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J. Davis (p. 27)
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W. Price (G. Price, p. 71)
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Ridgeways sc. (W. Ridgeway, p. 75)
T. Bradley (p. 17)
Fenner Sears & Co. (p. 32). This firm did much of the engraving for the last part of the book.
Lowry (J & W. Lowry, p. 62)
J. Lewis (p. 61)
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Redcliffe (Several Radclyffes, p. 72-73)
T. Owen (p. 69)
W. Taylor (p. 91)

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(References are from Benezit; where the name is unclear or if the reference is uncertain, there is a question mark)

Pannemaker (Vol. 10, p. 853)

Jonnard (Jonnard-Pacel, Vol. 7, p. 922)
Bellenger (Vol. 2, 84)
Laplante (Vol. 8, 454)
Quesnel (Vol. 11, 542)
J. Gauchard (Vol. 5, p. 1383?)
A. Doms, sc. (?)
Defferle (?)
Hildebrand (?) (Vol. 7, p. 84)
A. Demarler (?) (?)
Bourguignon (Louise B, Vol. 2, p. 1036?)
Prinaire (?)
E. Ram (?)
A. Levasseur (Vol. 8, p. 923)
V. Fournier (?) (Vol. 5, p. 945)
Bertrand (Vol. 2, p. 348?)
Rilsnel (?)
A. Saugent (?)
H. Pisan (Vol. 11, p. 46)
Degree (?)
Fill (?)
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Joilet (?) Diolot (?)
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